Tamil TIMES

"I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it."

– Voltaire

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Former DIG, P. Udugampola

★ **Who are the "Black Cats"?**

★ **Peace Missions Amidst continuing War**

★ **"This Senseless War Must Stop" – Catholic Mission**

★ **Human Rights & Foreign Aid**

★ **"Defence of Tigers Morally and Politically Wrong"**

★ **"Fate of Tamils in the Hands of Tigers"**

★ ***Kittu slips into Jaffna via Nepal and India?***

★ **Return of Tamil Refugees – Concern of UNHCR**

★ **Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka**

S. Krishnakumar (Kittu)

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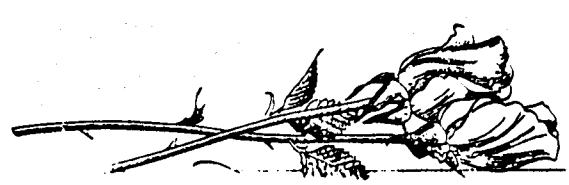

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'BLACK CATS' AND THE UDUGAMPOLA BOMBSHELL

The Premadasa Presidency and his government have been hit by a bombshell which came in the form of startling revelations by the once powerful Deputy Inspector General of Police, Premadasa Udugampola, who until recently headed the Bureau of Special Operations.

The Udugampola disclosures, contained in a series of press statements and sworn affidavits by the now fallen DIG, have served to lift the lid slightly and peep into who was responsible for what transpired during the dark period from late 1988 to early 1990 during which dreaded death squads known as 'Black Cats', 'Green Tigers' etc. resorted to exemplary and arbitrary killings on an unprecedented scale. Those were the days when people endured the revolting daily spectacle of floating corpses slowly drifting along rivers finding their way to the sea around the southern coast, the sight of mutilated and partially burnt bodies in roadsides, and of bodies smouldering in the rubber-tyre-pyres in various parts of the country.

The United Nations Working Group on 'Disappearances', in its report of January 1992, stated: 'An important new feature in combating the JVP uprising was the proliferation of death squads whose main task was to kill suspected rebels and sympathisers. These squads operated in plain clothes and moved about freely in unmarked vehicles, passing roadblocks unhindered, and engaged in fearsome forms of exemplary killings'. The overwhelming evidence is that the 'death squads' consisted of members of the police force and security services or that they were operating in close collaboration with them.

Evidence suggests that most of the incidents of widespread and arbitrary killings attributed to 'death squads' during that period occurred in areas of the Southern, Central and North Central Provinces when and where Mr. Udugampola was in charge as DIG. However, that does not mean that 'death squads' did not operate in other areas over which Udugampola had little jurisdiction. Nor does it imply that the phenomenon of death squads has completely disappeared now. After the resumption of fighting between government forces in the northeast, similar 'death squads' have been operating in plain clothes, moving around in unmarked vehicles and engaging in the same sort of fearsome exemplary killings particularly in the East.

Whatever the personal motivations are for his recent disclosures, the fact is that they reflect on the Presidency, the Government, the police and the Armed Forces, the Attorney General's Department and the Members of Parliament belonging to the ruling party. It may be true that the DIG has come out into the open, as alleged by the Prime Minister in his widely reported response, because he was not given an extension to continue in the police force and for the reason that his probable involvement in the abduction and murder of lawyer Wijedasa Liyanarachchi is to be reopened before the courts. However the issues raised by the disclosures are no longer matters limited to the relationship between a disaffected police officer and the government as his employer. They are issues of vital public importance going to the heart of good governance under the rule of law.

The Judges in the Liyanarachchi case would seem to have concurred with the submission that the State had not with fairness presented the full picture of the case, and that the part played by Mr. Udugampola in regard to the charges of murder and conspiracy to murder had been completely omitted and stated, 'The proceedings before this Trial-at-Bar has shed considerable light and revelations leading to the death of Wijedasa Liyanarachchi and posterior illegal activity. It is the fervent hope of this court that the Hon. the Attorney General, the law enforcement agencies and the executive will in the near future probe and investigate into the issue as to who caused the death, using the varied facts, matters and information disclosed in these court proceedings'.

Although the judgement was delivered on 18 March 1991, until recently Mr. Udugampola was permitted to continue in his powerful position as Deputy Inspector General and as Head of the Bureau of Special Operations and as 'a key player in the security apparatus'. Until his latest disclosures, he had not been questioned. Mr. Udugampola further revealed that the government made available a sum of Rs. 500,000 from the 'security budget' for the defence of the three policemen charged in this case, while the Attorney General was prosecuting them on behalf of the State!

Mr. Udugampola has also alleged that the 'killers known as Black Cats' were mobilised to confront the JVP, that they were used during elections to kill political opponents including many members of the SLFP, that these Black Cats were supplied and operated by UNP Members of Parliament, and that the 'Black Cat terrorism' helped them to win the elections. He has asserted, 'I can myself testify to the truth of some of the facts mentioned by the Commission of Elections in his recent report. The 100 odd impersonators found lodging in a pilgrims rest in Anuradhapura was part of the UNP's impersonation machinery. Terrorism was necessary for this to be operated without impediment', he has stated.

These allegations and others contained in Mr. Udugampola's disclosures cannot be simply dismissed by accusing him of being 'a pawn in the hands of a corrupt clique which is conspiring to overthrow the elected government' as the Prime Minister has done. Nor is the attempt by the government to muzzle the newspapers, which had given publicity to the DIG's statements and affidavits, by filing charges against them in courts under Emergency Regulations is an appropriate and legitimate response to the serious issues that have already been brought into the public domain.

The allegations are serious enough to warrant the appointment of an impartial Commission of Inquiry composed of eminent jurists of unimpeachable integrity and sturdy independence with wideranging powers to carry out an investigation.

Peace Missions Amidst Continuing War

Rita Sebastian from Colombo

There has been no lack of peace emissaries in the northeast conflict. Whether clergy or layman, they return from the north with the same stories of hardship and despair of a civilian population trapped between the two warring sides.

The most recent men of goodwill who made it to Jaffna was a group of Roman Catholic Bishops. Led by Bishop Marcus Fernando of Chilaw, they met with citizens groups, academics and professionals and with some members of the LTTE leadership as well and came back with the warning that 'time was running out' and there was the danger that the sense of isolation and alienation of the people in the north could easily crystallise into an irrevocable division of the country.

And of course the catholic clergy experienced first hand, what a nightmare the long hard road to Jaffna is for those who commute regularly between the north and the south. Walking long stretches on what one would hardly describe as roads. Sometimes a ride on a bicycle and by boat across the lagoon, or wherever possible some other mode of transport. And there is in addition the constant threat of being caught in the 'crossfire syndrome'.

The good Bishops must have realised too that the 'division' of the country that the south fears, is already in place as far as the north goes.

What is required of the Bishops or the next group of peace emissaries, the Buddhist clergy, who are scheduled to visit Jaffna shortly is to find a way of bridging the divide. And that cannot come about by visits to the north and listing the grievances of the people. It can only come about by bringing the two sides back to the negotiating table and finding a durable solution that meets with Tamil aspirations.

It is in this context that the much publicised invitation by the LTTE leadership to the parliamentary Select Committee to visit Jaffna, channelled through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) must be viewed.

Chairman of the Select Committee Mangala Moonesinghe's response to the invitation seems to have been that it was not proper to respond to a request made through a third party, but he would give the invitation its due consideration if the LTTE leadership made a formal request in writing.

The Select Committee however is understood to be divided on whether, if the LTTE sends an invitation in writing, it should make the trip to Jaffna. Several of the Tamil groups vehemently oppose the idea. Their thinking is that accepting the LTTE invitation would send the wrong signals such as an acknowledgement that the LTTE are the sole representatives of the Tamils, a status they claim.

There are others who feel that such a visit would help in conveying to the LTTE and the people of Jaffna that all the parties are for a political, not military solution. It is also felt that such a visit is symbolically important to convey to the people of the north that their views matter, and that the future of the northeast will not be decided only by Colombo.

In any event it would be the most dramatic task of the committee and would help to lift the morale of the civilian population who have grown sad and weary of the never-ending war.

The Select Committee, according to reports, is in the final stages of working out a consensus solution to the national question. But how this will be worked out is still unclear because the controversial north-east merger has become the main obstacle. The Tamil groups in the Select Committee want the merger to remain, and a proper devolution package put into place.

Some members feel that in the event of majority opposition to the delinking of the multi-ethnic east from the Tamil dominated north, the compromise formula of excising Sinhala dominated areas of the east and carving out a contiguous Tamil majority area should be resorted to.

There was considerable optimism, as well as hope in Colombo, that Dr. S. Sivakumaran of the Jaffna hospital, who arrived at the end of March with a set of proposals for the Select Committee, would personally appear before the committee and put forward the LTTE's concerns for an appropriate political solution.

Dr. Sivakumaran unfortunately did not go before the Committee, and although he did meet political leaders in Colombo like the main Opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, he made it quite clear that he was not speaking on behalf of the LTTE, but in his individual capacity as one concerned for the welfare of the Jaffna community amongst whom he has continued to work in the most difficult of circumstances.

In the meanwhile changes in the military establishment with the Joint Operations Command stripped of its overall powers, and the service commanders allowed free rein to map out their separate strategies, there is a feeling that military operations in the northeast are likely to intensify.

Given that scenario there, it is still too early to predict how things will develop in the next few weeks.

Udugampola & 'Black Cats'

by Rita Sebastian

The hunt is on for former Deputy Inspector General of Police, Premadasa Udugampola, who in sworn affidavits from a secret hideout has made several allegations against the government.

Udugampola's 'battle' with the government began when he was denied an extension of service, and there were moves to re-open the Liyanaratchi case. Liyanaratchi was a civil rights lawyer who died while in police custody at the height of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna insurgency in 1988-89.

With the indictment, under emergency regulations, of Udugampola by the Attorney General on April 9, for causing 'hostility, ill-will, hatred and contempt of the government and between different groups of citizens of the country,' by providing written and verbal information to the Aththa newspaper, defamatory of the government, Udugampola has become a 'wanted' man.

Indicted along with Udugampola is Lokubanda Wanigasekera, the editor of Aththa. The Aththa published details of 95 persons alleged to have been killed by the government-linked vigilante death squad, the 'Black Cats' between January and March 14, 1989.

According to Udugampola the 'Black Cats' the creation of a powerful ruling party politician, comprised about 100 men who besides their salaries were paid an additional Rs. 3000 monthly from the defence vote. They were also provided government vehicles, free fuel, and their Hiace and Pajero jeeps had false number plates. The killer squad included says Udugampola, highly placed police officials.

In a rather curious development last fortnight Udugampola, appealed to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the party that had at one time accused him of being involved in the killing of several youth as well as SLFP mem-

bers, to save him from the government, since he feared for his life.

In a letter to leader of the opposition Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Udugampola charged the 'Black Cats' of killing 156 persons in the southern province, 93 in the northcentral province, and 830 in the central province. He also alleged instances of rigging in the last parliamentary and Presidential elections.

The government's first official reaction to the Udugampola allegations, publicised in a section of the print media, came from a statement issued by Prime Minister Dingiri Banda Wijetune, who is also state minister for defence.

Wijetunge said that it looked as if Udugampola was a pawn in the hands of a corrupt clique who were trying to overthrow the government and vowed to expose the 'conspiracy at the proper time and at the proper forum.'

The Prime Minister's statement also alleged that Udugampola's press statements 'contain matters which are false and misleading.'

At a much publicised SLFP led joint opposition press conference following Udugampola's allegations, SLFP's Anura Bandaranaike called on the government to resign and hold fresh elections. Bandaranaike also demanded that a Commission of inquiry comprising three retired judicial officers be appointed to inquire into the allegations.

Bandaranaike however admitted that he had said 'some nasty things about Udugampola' and had no reason to change his views.

Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake of the Democratic United National Front (DUNF) denied any knowledge of the 'Black Cats'. The duo, were members of the government when the alleged crimes were committed.

In the affidavit Udugampola also alleges that several investigations into wrong-doing by ruling party supporters had to be abandoned following orders directly from President Premadasa.

One particular affidavit relates to the raid on a business establishment where a large quantity of explosives was found. The explosives, as well as drugs according to Udugampola were transported in food lorries to the LTTE militants in the north. And when the lid was blown off the illegal deals, a high ranking police officer was bribed, he says, to drop the investigation.

Udugampola believes that the explosives used in the killing of former defence deputy Ranjan Wijeratne, followed by the killing of former Indian

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CATHOLIC PEACE MISSION TO NORTH

'This Senseless War Must Stop'

Time is running out. The senseless war in the North and East must stop. Peace with dignity and honour with due respect to their just aspirations is what the people there yearn for.

This is the message a group of Catholic leaders has brought after a visit to the northern province from March 24th to 28th.

The goodwill mission comprised Rt. Revd. Dr. Frank Marcus Fernando, Bishop of Chilaw, Rt. Revd. Dr. Vianney Fernando, Bishop of Kandy, Revd. Fr. A. Alexander, President of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, Mr. Newton Fernando, President of the Catholic Union of Sri Lanka, and Revd. Sr. Ethel Alwis, Superior General of the Sisters of Perpetual Help.

A statement issued by the Bishop of Chilaw states the mission met a fair cross section of the people in the North such as ordinary citizens, members of the Citizens' Committee, humanitarian groups, university dons, students, religious leaders as well as high ranking officials of the LTTE.

The statement said the people appreciated the recent decision of the government to open the Kankesanturai harbour and the approach road. Despite this the influx of food and essential goods, especially medicine, is still inadequate. The people in the North are living in pain, anguish and suffering.

During discussions, the people there suggested that dialogue through goodwill visits be pursued, that multi-religious groups visit the North to bring about greater understanding, and some goodwill gestures such as easing the embargo on essentials be made and thus create the necessary climate for a speedy cessation of hostilities and a negotiated political solution.

The group of Catholic leaders after their goodwill mission to the Northern province issued a statement signed by Bishop Frank Marcus Fernando. The following is the text:

Our journey from Colombo through Vavuniya to Jaffna which took nearly 24 hours gave us already a glimpse of the hazards and the hardships as well as the enormous expenses the people have to bear in travelling to and from Jaffna.

We had the opportunity to meet a fair cross section of the population in the North, viz., ordinary citizens, members of the Citizens' Committee, Humanitarian groups such as the ICRC, university dons, students and religious leaders as well as high ranking officials of the LTTE. Our visit, motivated by fraternal solidarity and humanitarian concern opened our minds and hearts, to see and understand the plight of the civilian population of the North. We saw everywhere the ravages of the ongoing war which has rendered thousands homeless.

The people were very appreciative of the recent decision of the Government to open the Kankesanturai harbour and the approach road. Even though this gesture of concern has increased the food supply to the North, the influx of food and essential goods specially medicine is still inadequate. Scarcity of food and medicine has resulted in an alarming increase of malnutrition specially among children. Recent studies have shown that many of the new-born babies are grossly underweight. The non-availability of fuel and electricity for a prolonged period of time affects the school children as they are unable to study. Large numbers of people have lost their means of livelihood. What we have seen and heard as well as observed during the few days we spent in the North, convinced us beyond doubt, of the pain, the anguish and the sufferings of men, women and children living in this part of the country. The psychological trauma of a protracted war-situation has had a devastating effect on individuals and families and the civilian population as a whole.

Inspite of these hardships, we did notice signs of hope. Despite the very trying situation in which the people live, they continue to keep alive a profound and an authentic yearning for peace with dignity and justice. What came through strongly to us in our numerous discussions and the signal that the militants as well as citizens gave to us can be summed up as follows:

'Time is running out, this senseless war has to stop. On both sides precious human lives are being destroyed. Peace with dignity and honour with due respect to our just aspirations which does not necessarily reject the idea of a unitary state is what we yearn for.

Even at this late hour, if this opportune moment is not seized, the strong sense of alienation and isolation that the people of this part of the country are experiencing, will certainly result in hardening of position and crystallising them in such a way as to create an irrevocable division. We have the will and the capacity to face such an eventuality even if it goes contrary to our

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'Kittu' Slips Into Jaffna via Nepal and India?

From S. Venkat Narayan

NEW DELHI, April 14 – Sathasivam Krishnakumar alias 'Kittu' a senior leader of the Sri Lankan Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), passed through India incognito on his way to Jaffna last week, an Indian newspaper said today.

Kittu, who has lived in Madras, London and Geneva for several years, apparently returned to Jaffna to attend a top level LTTE conclave in the jungles of the Northern Peninsula early next month.

The conclave is due to be attended by LTTE Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran, Kittu, Thilagar and Gopalasamy Mahendraraja alias Mahathiya.

The four men are going into a huddle at a secret rendezvous in the jungles during May 3-5 to decide what to do to cope with a ban India proposes to impose on the LTTE in the wake of its alleged involvement in the brutal assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at an election rally at Sriperumbudur near Madras in Southern India on the night of May 21 last year.

The Indian ban, now under consideration by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's Cabinet, will adversely affect the LTTE's fortunes world wide. Its branches in western capitals and elsewhere may have to be shut once India bans the dreaded Tamil separatist militant outfit.

Kittu, living in Switzerland for several months, apparently disappeared from Geneva early this month. He reportedly travelled to India on a Nepalese passport and arrived in Bombay on board a cargo ship.

He is believed to have travelled to Kerala from Bombay by road and left for Jaffna in a motor boat from a port in Kerala on April 7.

While Kittu entered India disguised as a Muslim, he reportedly left Kerala dressed as a fisherman.

According to the Pioneer newspaper, Indian Intelligence agencies were able to trace Kittu's movements belatedly by intercepting a long distance telephone call from Bombay, in which both sides spoke in Tamil.

Kittu's right leg was damaged in a bombing incident in Jaffna in the late 1980s. He went to Madras and lived there for several years. When things got hot for LTTE activists in Tamil Nadu, he went to Britain for medical treatment.

His leg has since been amputated and he walks with crutches. When Britain was about to deport him last year in the wake of the LTTE's reported involvement in the Gandhi killing, Kittu left that country 'voluntarily' and went to France.

In Paris, he obtained a visa to go to Switzerland, where several thousand Sri Lankan Tamils have been living as refugees since 1983. He was allowed to stay in that country on humanitarian grounds.

The Indian Express today speculated that Kittu may have left Geneva because it was probably made clear to him that he was an 'unwelcome' guest in the country.

With Kittu's return to Jaffna, only Thilagar's arrival is awaited in the Peninsula. Prabhakaran and Mahathiya are already in Jaffna.

TALKING POINTS

● Pamella Bordes, the Indian-born journalist researcher who was in the centre of a 'sex-for-sale' scandal in Britain some years ago was seen in Colombo recently with her declared intention of having a photographic assignment with LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran, according to a news report in the Sunday Times (5.4.92).

Pamella had arrived in Colombo with supporting credentials as a journalist from Gamma News (London) and obtained clearance from the Defence Ministry to visit Jaffna. Although the LTTE is usually happy to entertain and receive foreign journalists, in the case of Pamella the LTTE apparently refused to offer her safe passage because of her doubtful connections including that of the controversial Indian religio-mystic Chandraswamy.

BOMB BLASTS KILL 35

Nearly 35 persons were killed and 55 persons injured in two separate bomb explosions on 10 April, one at Maharagama about ten miles off Colombo and the other at the Amarai bus stand in eastern Sri Lanka.

A powerful car bomb went off around 6.30pm at Maharagam junction killing at least nine persons including a police constable and injuring over thirty others. The blast damaged several buildings and vehicles in the vicinity of the explosion. Eye witnesses said that flames engulfed the area rising to about thirty feet following the blast.

In the second incident, over twenty-five passengers were killed and more than 25 persons injured when a time-bomb packed in a private bus went off at the Amparai main bus stand at about 9am. The bus had just arrived in Amparai from Kalmunai when the bomb exploded ripping the vehicle and passengers apart. Most of the dead and injured are believed to belong to the Muslim community. The driver and conductor of the bus, both residents of Kalavanchikudi, who got off the vehicle just before the bomb exploded, had gone missing.

Having first speculated about a JVP connection in the Maharagama explosion, subsequent news reports quoting police sources have attributed both explosions to the Tamil Tigers. Following these incidents, police have intensified security operations in and around Colombo and taken into cutody scores of Tamil youth on mere suspicion. Anyone who is unable to provide an explanation adequate to satisfy the police have been taken into custody for further interrogation.

In the meantime, police claim that both the explosions were masterminded by the LTTE military leader in Palugamam, Singham alias Ramanan. He had instructed Sivakumaran, an ex-policeman turned car dealer to purchase the Hillman vehicle which was used in the Maharagama explosion. The vehicle reportedly had been modified to enable the explosive device to be fitted into the petrol tank following which Sivakumaran had driven back the car to Colombo on 9 April accompanied by one Sabaratnam (described as the Palagamam branch secretary of the SLFP), his 12-year-old son, Alagadurai and a woman named Mary.

Police believe that they have made a breakthrough in the investigations with the arrest of Sabaratnam, Mary, Jabbar and six others alleged to be with LTTE connections. It is reliably learnt that Sabaratnam, in a statement to the police, had stated that he was a mere car-broker and he had travelled in the vehicle only for the purpose of arranging an exchange of vehicles in Colombo and that he did not have a hand in the bomb explosion.

Buddhist Mission to Jaffna For Talks With LTTE

A ten-member delegation of Buddhist priests led by the Chief Incumbent of the Grandpass Sri Isipathanaramaya, Ven. Madampagama Assaji Thera are scheduled to leave for Jaffna on April 21 for talks with the LTTE leadership to evolve a solution to the North-East conflict, political sources revealed.

The monks will be flown to Palaly by the Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) and taken to Kankesanthurai by the security forces. The International Committee of the Red

Cross (ICRC) will be making arrangements to take over from that point and escort the delegation to Jaffna for the meeting with the LTTE hierarchy, these sources said.

Prior to emplaning for Palaly, the ten Buddhist priests will take part in a special religious ceremony at the Sri Maha Bodhiya in Anuradhapura. The delegation will motor to Anuradhapura and after the religious ceremony the Air Force will fly them to Palaly, 'The Island' learns.

Ven. Madampagama Assaji Nayake Thera and other members of the delegation had a meeting with the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) on Monday to seek their views on the current situation and also to brief this militant group about the mission the monks will be embarking on to usher in peace to the country. During the two-hour meeting with the PLOTE team which was led by its leader Dharmalingam Sithartan, the monks had stressed that they will be urging the Tigers to put forward their proposals to enable the peace process to 'get started'. What other alternatives the LTTE had to offer must be placed before the people for discussion, the monks had explained.

They had also noted that they will request the LTTE for a meeting with police and security personnel and civilians in Tiger captivity and make every endeavour to secure the release of at least some of them. The delegation will also be meeting members of the public, representatives of Citizens' Committees and a cross section of the masses with a view to securing their independent views on the continuing volatile situation and what steps would be suggested to overcome it, informed sources said.

The Buddhist monks had earlier held a round of talks with the EPRLF and it is learnt that they will hold discussions with all Tamil groups prior to their visit to Jaffna, to obtain their views on the crisis and gather knowledge about possible solutions which will help end the conflict. The Buddhist priests had told PLOTE and EPRLF that they as religious dignitaries were extremely concerned about the loss of life which was taking place on an unprecedented scale in the North-East.

PLOTE leader D. Sithartan and a senior member of the EPRLF confirmed the meeting with the Buddhist delegation.

BRIEFS

● **THE LTTE SHOT DEAD** two retired police officers and three civilians in Jaffna on 30 March. According to an announcement by the LTTE, the two police officers, Inspector of Police Thamotharampillai and Sub-Inspector Perinpanayagam were involved in the investigations into the murder of former Jaffna Mayor Alfred Duraiappah in 1975. The two police officers had been living in Jaffna for many years after their retirement, and they were taken into custody by the LTTE about a month ago. The LTTE also announced that two civilians, Ramiah Ramalingam and Joseph were shot dead because they allegedly had connections with the Joint Operations Command (JOC) and with the army base at Palaly.

● **THE LTTE** has commenced the issue of 'Eelam' identity cards to residents within the Jaffna peninsula, with a view to curbing 'infiltration' into the peninsula by anti-LTTE elements. After the issue of these ID cards, no civilians without these cards will be permitted to reside in Jaffna. Civilians who return to the peninsula from the south will also be issued with 'Eelam' IDs, if such returnees could establish their bona-fides to the satisfaction of the LTTE. Anyone failing to possess the ID would face punishment including their 'expulsion to the south of the island.

RAJIV ASSASSINATION PROBE

Evidence Sought from Sri Lanka

Colombo, 13 March – In a further step against the LTTE in respect of its alleged involvement in the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Indian authorities have formally handed over to Sri Lanka a 'letter rogatory' for evidence that is expected to be used by the prosecution in the Rajiv Assassination case.

A letter rogatory in broad terms is a request from one government to another to gather evidence in connection with a legal inquiry. As such, the evidence will be in a form that will be admissible in a court of law. The Indian request is a follow-up of the investigations that the Special Investigation Team, (SIT) had been carrying out in Colombo from time to time, and asks the government of Sri Lanka to formally follow-up on some of the evidence the SIT had gathered.

A source who had seen the document reported that a wide range of information had been requested, including birth certificates and blood samples of several named persons including LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran and his 'intelligence chief' Pottu Amman.

The Indian request has been passed on to the Sri Lankan Attorney General for action who is studying it carefuly, for this is the first time the Sri Lankan government has received such a detailed request for evidence in the form of letter rogatory. According to a Sri Lankan official, some of the material that had been asked for required access to the LTTE and could not obviously be complied with. But there were other things that Sri Lanka would be able to provide.

The letter rogatory is not connected with a request for extradition, but would form part of the legal chain that is eventually expected to lead to India asking Sri Lanka to extradite V. Prabhakaran and Pottu Amman. According to Foreign Ministry officials in Colombo, though there is no formal extradition treaty between the two countries, the existing laws make it possible for Sri Lanka to consider an extradition request. 'Our legal authorities would have to examine the request and the evidence and be satisfied that there is a prima facie case', the Foreign Secretary Mr. Bernard Tilakarate told the press recently. The process would be speedier if India passed the necessary legislation to give effect to the SAARC convention on terrorism; India had signed the convention, but not passed legislation to convert it into domestic law, he added.

The LTTE leader has remained elusive and out of reach to the Sri Lankan security forces which will not be in a position to arrest and hand him over to India to face trial. However, political observers feel that a formal extradition request will have serious implications for Prabhakaran's political future – as long as he remains wanted for the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, he will find it difficult to emerge in public and participate in normal peacetime politics, if ever that is possible.

New Delhi, 27 March – The Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan today called for speedy extradition of the two LTTE leaders. Prabhakaran and Pottu Amman, both of whom have been declared proclaimed offenders as the main accused in the Rajiv assassination case. Mr. Chavan expressed his demand to Mr. Ranil Wickremasinghe, the Sri Lankan Industries Minister, who called on him with a high level delegation. Mr. Wickremasinghe, who is also the Minister-in-charge of Sri Lankan refugees and the LTTE, promised to cooperate fully with India.

Meanwhile it is reported that the request of the Tamil Nadu government to

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ban the LTTE is under serious consideration by the Centre. The state government had already banned the distribution of pro-LTTE literature and taken into custody those who were engaged in holding meetings sympathetic to the Tigers. The police have put up posters on 'wanted men' allegedly of the LTTE now absconding in the state. Of the Rs.80 million sought by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister to beef up the security forces and for the provision of additional equipment, the Centre has already released Rs.10 million.

The State police also has ordered all hotels and lodging houses in the state not to allow Sri Lanka Tamil youth to take temporary residence.

New twist

A key witness to Rajiv Gandhi's assassination in Sriperumbudur, Kumudavalli has in a statement pointed an accusing finger at former Union Minister, Maragatham Chandrasekar and her daughter Latha Priyakumar, a Tamil Nadu MLA. According to Kumudavalli, who is the Secretary of the Chengalpattu district Mahila Congress(I), two suspects in the assassination case Latha Kannan and Kokila came to the meeting in the same car as Maragatham. On arrival, Latha and Kokila were greeted by the suicide belt-bomber Dhanu who was already at the spot with the 'One-Eyed Jack' Sivarasan and Subha both of whom later committed suicide when surrounded by the police in Bangalore.

TAMIL REFUGEES – UNHCR CONCERNED

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has expressed grave reservations regarding the repatriation of Tamil refugees from India to Sri Lanka, and a high level delegation visited India for talks on the issue, according to UNHCR representative Hasheed Furkhan.

Mr. Furkhan said that the repatriation of refugees from India did not take place according to internationally accepted procedure. The normal procedure would be for the UNHCR to carry out an independent verification on the issue. Normally officials of the UNHCR would meet and interview the refugees while still in the asylum country before they left for their home country. But in the case of the Tamil refugees, there was no conformity with such procedure.

The UNHCR representatives have also held talks with Sri Lankan Ministers and top officials including Foreign Secretary Bernard Tilakeratne, State Minister for Foreign Affairs John Amaratunga, Defence Secretary Cyril Ranatunga and President's Special Advisor Bradman Weerakoon.

Meanwhile, many Tamil politicians and those concerned with the interests of the refugees said that many of the returning refugees had complained of indirect pressure being applied on them while in India to compel their return to Sri Lanka, and that all the problems for the Tamil refugees had cropped up only since the alleged involvement of Tigers in the murder of Rajiv Gandhi and the subsequent crackdown against the LTTE in Tamil Nadu. However, the Deputy Indian High Commissioner in Colombo Mr. Cherry George denying any such pressure being applied by the Indian government, told the press that the return of the Tamil refugees was purely on a voluntary basis.

● Former State Minister for Information, Dr. Anandatissa de Alwis chief guest at the launching of former President J.R. Jayawardene's book **'Men and Memories'**, laid the reason for the 'fall of J.R.' at the door of India.

Quoting a Sinhala proverb which says 'the temple you step into worship falls on your head', Dr. de Alwis charged India with destabilising Sri Lanka.

Complaint Against Police Upheld

The Supreme Court, on 27 March, held that the police had denied Dr.(Mrs.) Manoranai Saravanamuttu equal protection of the law by failing to provide her with copies of certain statements recorded by the police in connection with the murder of her son Richard de Zoysa. The court also awarded her compensation in a sum of Rs.10,000.

Dr. Saravanamuttu in her petition to the court had alleged that the police had refused to provide her with copies of her own statement made to the police and those of other witnesses regarding the abduction and murder of her son in February 1990. She had said that she required the statements recorded by the police for her defence in the defamation case filed against her by Senior Superintendent of Police Ronnie Gunasinghe. By failing to furnish her with the statements, she alleged that the relevant police officers had denied her the right to equality and equal protection of the law as guaranteed by Article 12(1) of the Constitution.

In her statement to the police Dr. Saravanamuttu had stated that SSP Ronnie Gunasinghe was one of the persons who had gone to her house and abducted her son the day before he was found dead on a sea beach. The investigation by the Magistrate into the death of Richard de Zoysa was subsequently dropped following intervention in the proceedings by the Attorney General.

Ronnie Gunasinghe subsequently instituted a defamation case, claiming one million rupees as damages, against Dr. Saravanamuttu contending that the allegations made by her were false, malicious and defamatory of him.

PROTEST AT 'DISAPPEARANCES'

Amnesty International has made an urgent appeal in respect of 14 persons who are feared to have been extrajudicially executed following their 'disappearance' after having been taken into custody by the Sri Lankan army in late January – early February 1992.

The fourteen, between the ages of 14 and 30, were among a group of 25 persons arrested by the security forces during 'Operation Green Belt' carried out in Thoppigala in the Kiran area in eastern Sri Lanka. Some of them were cadres of the LTTE, others were villagers allegedly forced by the LTTE to assist in the harvesting. Eleven of the 25 were later unconditionally released, but there is no news about the fate or whereabouts of the missing fourteen persons who were reported to have been taken to the Valaichenai army camp.

The missing persons are Thuraisamy Rajalingam, Sinnathamby Vinayagamoorthy, Pasupathy Wijayakumar, Kanapathippillai Chandrakumar, Nagalingam Sundaresan, Shanthalingam Komaleswaran, Mailvaganam Selvarajah, Manikkam Sivendran, Arumainathan Thavarajah, Murgapathy Pathmanathan, Vyramuthu Thaya, Murugesapillai Rathinam, Periyathamby Nadarajah and Sinnathamby Sivanandarajah.

The period from January to February is harvest season in the east of Sri Lanka. In early 1992, some farmers in the Kiran area had reportedly approached the local army commander and asked for permission to reap the crops. The commander had reportedly stated that he could not grant permission as he did not want to risk the harvest falling into the hands of the LTTE. The LTTE cadres reportedly had subsequently tried to reap the harvest for their own provisions and also forced local farmers to assist them. It is during the harvesting that the 14 were arrested who subsequently 'disappeared'.

'LTTE Hit Squad in Tamil Nadu' – Jayalalitha

Madras, 19 March – A suicide squad of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has sneaked into Tamil Nadu, the Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaram told the State Assembly today. The information had been confirmed by the intelligence services, but details of how many formed the squad were not known.

According to intelligence reports, the hit squad composed of 'Black Tigers' was on a mission to assassinate Ms. Jayalalitha and many other VIPs including the Chief of the Special Investigating Team (SIT) probing Rajiv's assassination, D.R. Karthikeyan, TNCC(I) Chief, Vazhapadi Ramamurthy and State Deputy General of Police, S. Siripal and to blast the SIT headquarters and the designated court hearing the assassination case. The LTTE squad's plan included the storming of the jails to release those held in connection with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and EPRLF leader Pathmanabah and his colleagues.

The Chief Minister added that the efforts made by the police at curbing the free movement of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu were praiseworthy. Detailing the measures taken to curb LTTE activities, she said that though the problem was under check, there was no room for complacency. The police wireless repeater station at Yercaud, a hill station near Salem, had reported interference in communication due to the operation of a ghost transmitter functioning somewhere in the area, she said.

'I am not a person to worry over these reports of attempts to assassinate me. I am prepared to make any sacrifice for the welfare and betterment of the people of Tamil Nadu', she added.

Referring to the criticism on the use of Terrorists and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act – TADA – in the State, the Chief Minister pointed out that there were over 30 incidents of bomb explosions in the State last year in which many persons had been killed.

SELECT COMMITTEE AWAITS LTTE's 'FORMAL INVITATION'

The Parliamentary Select Committee appointed in August last year to resolve the North-East conflict is awaiting a 'formal invitation' from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to consider embarking on a mission to Jaffna to hold a round of talks with the Tiger hierarchy, political sources said.

A meeting with the LTTE high command has been considered of utmost importance as the 'heart of the problem' centred on Jaffna which is the core of the Tamil rebellion, these sources said.

'We have not received a formal invitation from the LTTE to visit Jaffna', the Chairman of the Select Committee, Mangala Moonesinghe said.

He said earlier the Tigers had 'sent word' through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to the Parliamentary Select Committee to undertake a visit to Jaffna for deliberations with the LTTE leadership in the context of working out a solution to the crisis, but no 'formal invitation' had been extended so far.

The Select Committee had unanimously resolved that to consider undertaking a visit to Jaffna the LTTE must forward an authoritative invitation by way of a letter to the Select Committee. It was not in a position to respond to 'orally conveyed invitations' sent via proxies. They must be in the form of a letter originating from the LTTE which is the party concerned.

After a meeting with ICRC officials in Colombo, Mr. Moonesinghe had reported back to the Select Committee the oral invitation sent by the LTTE and it had been decided that the Committee will only respond to a formal invitation.

Mr. Moonesinghe said if an authoritative invitation was received from the LTTE the Select Committee will decide and respond accordingly.

The Select Committee of Parliament was appointed to recommend ways and means of achieving peace and political stability in the country on August 9 last year. The objectives of the Select Committee are to arrive at a political solution to the question involving the devolution of power to the northern and eastern provinces and to prevent the disintegration of the nation, the killings of innocent civilians, members of the armed forces and youths fighting for a cause, the increased militarization of the culture of violence in our country, and to achieve peace and political stability and utilize the reduced defence expenditure for rapid economic growth and national development.

Several political parties and groups have already placed their proposals before the Select Committee which is continuing deliberations.

Meanwhile PLOTE leader S. Sidhartan declared that any visit by religious groups to Jaffna to hold talks with the LTTE will only result in the Tigers receiving more publicity. Such visits will not help resolve the current crisis.

EXCHANGE CONTROL RELAXED

Sri Lanka has further relaxed its exchange control regulations as part of efforts to achieve full and meaningful liberalisation of the economy.

The Governor of the Central Bank, Mr. Neville Karunatilleke, recently announced onehundred percent increase by the central bank of foreign travel allowances and the release of foreign exchange for studies abroad. Foreign exchange allocations for health insurance coverage abroad have also been increased substantially.

The Governor said that the limit on capital transfers by Sri Lankan immigrants had been increased to Rs.500,000 per individual, with a maximum of Rs.1 million per family unit; migrants will be permitted to take this amount with them on departure.

'Our foreign reserves are equal to cover five months' imports. In March last year, it was not even sufficient to cover three months' imports', he said claiming the island's foreign reserves were in a healthy state.

He also said that educational allowance for Sri Lankans studying abroad had been increased in all categories. In the case of primary, secondary and higher education, allowance to south Asian countries is Rs.12,000 (Indian), £6,000 (UK), £3,600 (Europe) and $6,000 (USA). For the first time, the government has 'decided to release foreign exchange for remittance of health insurance premiums on health insurance policies abroad'. This will help ailing Sri Lankans to gain admission to hospitals in the West, Mr. Karunatilleke said.

Basic holiday travel allowance has been increased by 100 percent. Sri Lankans will also be allowed to take more personal jewellery abroad on a bring-back basis. While women travelling to south Asian countries will be permitted to take jewellery worth up to Rs.100,000, those travelling to other countries will be allowed to carry Rs.150,000 worth.

'Fate of Tamils in Hands of the Tigers'

– B. Thambyah, Ontario –

The sufferings, tribulations, and harassment undergone by the Sri Lankan Tamil Community over a period exceeding 4 decades, is perhaps unparalled. The recent decades have seen a rapid escalation, culminating in killing, rape, looting, discrimination, and an almost diabolical drive to exterminate the Tamils and their ethnic identity. This was in stark contrast to the amicable relations for centuries between the two communities previously. What went wrong, and what part was played by the leadership during the troubled years? There has been much heart burning and questioning by Tamils over this sorry state of affairs, and the quality of leadership.

The watershed year was probably 1956, when Tamil political leaders were confronted with discrimination of human rights. It was probably a vain attempt to stem the tide of hate and animosity aroused in the minds of the Sinhala masses, by Sinhala leaders, vested interests, and the Buddhist clergy. Rabble rousing Sinhala politicians, within and without the Government, joined in the hate campaign. Inept Tamil leadership with doubtful dedication, preferring the common expedient of running with the hare, and hunting with the hounds, were partly to be blamed.

Mr. Chelvanayagam was a sincere and dedicated Tamil leader who stoutly endeavoured to retrieve the eroding rights of the Tamils and ensure their dignity and selfhood, in their homeland region. When that effort failed against Sinhala animosity, it became abundantly clear that the stage was set to downgrade Tamils to subservient status. Tamil political posturing and bargaining only made the situation worse, and the TULF's record of divided loyalties, resulted in the community losing much of its confidence in political leadership. So much so, that Mr. Amirthalingam lost much credibility as to his dedication to the Tamil cause, and met an untimely end, probably at the hands of embittered Tamil Militants.

It was becoming abundantly clear that the Sinhala Government was set on total domination of the Tamil Community, and intent on setting up racial strife to further humiliate and cow the Tamils into abject surrender of their rights and dignity. It was at this stage, that the militants gradually took over the leadership of the Tamils, much against the wishes of the politicians and their manipulations to remain in power. The militant credo was that only force and reprisals could save the Tamils, and the consequent need to take up arms against the Government. The embittered Tamils, deeply hurt and mortified by the unyielding Government, generally welcomed the militants and their bold stance of hitting back. Many militant groups were formed to take on the offensive against the Government, but as was to be expected, they vied with each other for dominance, attracted by vast Tamil funds gifted or extorted from Tamils. The weaker groups tried to achieve dominance by aligning with other forces, including India which had begun to play a hand. This led to bloody clashes between groups intent on elimination of leaders and cadres. In the face of an overwhelming foe, a stab in the back could be fatal to survival, and hence the all out struggle for dominance, and the final victory of the Tigers (LTTE) in these contests.

'The stage of peaceful negotiations had become irrelevant, despite a facade for international consumption. For good or evil, Tamil leadership has passed fully into the hands of the Tigers. . . The fate of the Tamils are in their hands'.

Much of the above are part of recent history and well known. What is of crucial importance to the Community, is the current leadership of the Tigers, and the confidence that might be placed in it to save the Tamils. Obviously the stage of peaceful negotiations had become irrelevant, despite a facade for international consumption. For good or evil, Tamil leadership has passed fully into the hands of the Tigers, and their offensive and defensive military competence, under their charismatic leader Prabaharan. The fate of the Tamils rests in their hands.

It would be wholly relevant to mention that Sinhala policy has a one and only goal – the crushing of all possibilities for Tamil resurgence now and in the future. It includes the fragmenting of the Tamil Homeland Region into non viable units and influencing the ethnic ratio by a heavy influx of Sinhala colonists, thus negating any possibility of Tamil identity and regeneration now or in the future. Apparently, the intended fate for the Tamils would be akin to that of the Red Indians in America, evicted from their Reservations to lose their identity and ethnic cohesion. So virulent has been the hate campaign in view of the heavy losses inflicted by the Tigers, a diabolic plan has been canvassed for mass rape of Tamil women to produce a bastard generation to mock ethnic purity. Hence the total effort for a military solution to prevent a resurgence of Tamil capabilities in any form. The lesson of the debacle of the IPKF at the hands of the Tigers to be avoided by a merciless blockade to starve the Tamils, including women and children, followed by a steam roller offensive to overrun the peninsula. No consideration to be given to Tamil susceptibilities or rapprochement of the two communities in the future.

It is perhaps to the credit of the Tigers that they had long perceived the inflexible plan of the Sinhala Government to wipe out and subjugate the Tamils once and for all, and hence the only option for the Tamils was separation or at least full autonomy. This could only be achieved by repulsing the Army. Nor had the Tigers been fooled by the smokescreen of discussions with the Tigers, pretended formulations for transfer of power, during and after the Indian intervention, whilst active steps had been set in motion to enlist and train a large army and order arms and munitions from abroad. It was all a ploy to play for time until the army was ready to take the offensive. Meanwhile steps had been taken to infiltrate soldiers in the guise of policemen into areas vacated by the IPKF. The Tigers pre-empted this stratagem, thus setting in motion the ongoing offensive by the Sri Lankan Army.

It is indeed the great misfortune of the Tamils that India has ranged herself against Tamil selfhood, despite expressed concern for Tamil rights. India's only concern was and is the prevention of Sri Lankan Tamil autonomy, lest it provide an incentive for Dravida aspirations in South India. Despite the Indian intervention, and the fragile Accord, Rajiv had ever been considered hostile to Tamil aspirations as was first evident at the Thingpu Conference. India's betrayal of a kindred race has been perhaps the greatest misfortune and setback in the Tamil struggle for rights in Sri Lanka.

There can be no doubt that the military competence of the Tigers has astounded military experts. This minority group of fierce fighters ever willing to die for the cause of Tamil Eelam, had displayed a mastery of the art of war which had baffled both the Indian and Sri Lankan Armies equipped with the most modern arms, planes etc. Despite the pitched battles and the heavy losses sustained by its

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trained cadres, the Tigers have rebounded back to take on the Army all over the Tamil region, inflicting heavy losses. Many complaints have been made of continued extortions from civilians to feed and arm Tiger cadres in the fighting. No doubt, the Tamil Community has been subject to terrible hardships and heavy sacrifices in addition to such extortions. It is the LTTE contention that the fighting cadres are sacrificing their lives to protect and sustain present and future Tamil generations, and it is only the Tamils who must sustain their efforts. On the other hand, it is pointed out that a Sinhala soldier is fed, clothed and paid thousands of rupees from the Sinhala tax payers' money, apart from the hundreds of millions spent on arms etc. Hence the predicament of the Tamil population in the North. Subjugation to the Sinhalese would mean the end of any future for present and coming generations. Any possibility of survival with dignity would depend on the Tigers who would need to be sustained from resources within the Community

The above highlights the Tamil dilemma, and the need to realize that there is no easy path to Tamil liberation, probably needing the ultimate in sacrifice and suffering. For the Tigers, it can only mean death in battle, or surrender followed by torture to reveal roots and adherents, and then death. No Sinhala Government would risk allowing roots for future resistance. Even in the event of the peninsula being overrun by a Sinhala attack from all sides, it is likely the Tigers would cross over to the Vanni and continue an interminable war to hasten economic ruin, thus compelling the Government to come to terms. What is to be feared is that ever willing Tamil stooges would be willing to seduce the weary and suffering Tamil to accept a sugar coated poison pill, of flawed promises.

German philosophers, and thinkers, including Hegel, have held that it is war that ennobles and stiffens a nation or community, and it well may be that the baptismal of fire which the Tamils are undergoing, could mean the emergence of a Tamil Nation, free of personal selfishness and a willingness to preserve its freedom. It would depend on the spirit of the people and the dedication of its leadership. It is for the will of the people to sustain the leadership, and not otherwise. May God help the Tamils in their hour of need. Benjamin Franklin has frankly stated that 'they who would sacrifice essential liberty for temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety'.

Racist Murder

Twenty-eight-year-old asylum-seeker Panchadcharam Sahitharan who fled from persecution in Sri Lanka became a victim of racism in Britain when he was attacked by a British racist mob on 29 December 1991 on an East London Street. The police to date have failed to apprehend any suspects.

A gang that had been on a violent rampage in the Manor Park area earlier that day attacking every coloured person they saw, meted the full blast of their viciousness on Sahitharan with sticks and bats while he was on his way home. He was admitted with severe head injuries to the Whitechapel Hospital but succumbed to his injuries on the 3rd of January.

The murder of Sahitharan is the latest in a series of racist attacks on members of the ethnic communities in London. In November 1991 two shop keepers were the victims of a brutal police attack which is another dimension to the kind of problems the coloured community has to contend with despite the appeals of senior police officers to their rank and file to help improve community links.

In 1988 out of 5294 complaints of racist attacks made against the Metropolitan police, only 166 were investigated by the Police Complaints Authority of which only 22 resulted in any action.

The East London area in particular is noted for vicious racist attacks in recent times. Not so long ago a mother and three children were petrol-bombed with fatal consequences and later a mother and two children fell victims to the same type of racist attack.

Alarmed by these attacks and the growing intolerance of fascist groups, a March for Justice was held on Saturday 28 March in East Ham, London. Seen in the picture above is a section of the marchers in which a photograph of Sahitharan was carried through the entire route by Paul Sathianesan of the British Refugee Council.

Racism is raising its ugly head in various parts of Europe and this evil force must be met squarely before it once again takes the form that led thousands of people to the gas chambers in Nazi Germany.

Murder Case to be Reviewed

The British Home Office, reacting to the 53-day hunger strike by Sam Kulasingam who is serving a life sentence for murder along with his co-accused Prem Sivalingam, has indicated that the Essex County Police will carry out fresh inquiries into the killings that sent the two Sri Lankans to prison. This inquiry will be headed by Chief Superintendent, Keith Southgate.

Following the dismissal of their appeals, Sam Kulasingam had vowed to fast until the conviction was quashed. The case attracted much attention from politicians and lawyers, many of whom, were concerned that a miscarriage of justice may have occurred in this case.

The conviction of Sam Kulasingam and Prem Sivalingam followed the trial in which they were charged in April 1988 with murder after a house in East Ham, London, occupied by Tamils was firebombed and three people were killed in the attack.

Police investigations indicated that this attack was connected with a feud that had taken place between two rival Tamil groups and detained a number of suspects for questioning. It also became clear that the victims were student tenants who did not belong to any of the two rival groups.

It has been claimed that many of the detainees who were eventually charged with the murders, were threatened with deportation if they failed to provide information to the police. It was further stated that the prosecution case rested solely upon two witnesses who claimed that the defendants confessed to them that they had carried out the firebombing.

During the trial, the judge directed that three of the defendants be acquitted and it was generally felt that the case for the Crown rested heavily on witnesses whose testimonies were riddled with inconsistencies. At the end of the trial, Sam Kulasingam and Prem Sivalingam were found guilty by a 10-2 jury verdict and both were sentenced to life imprisonment.

In February 1992, four years after their imprisonment, their appeal was rejected by the outgoing Lord Chief Justice, Lord Justice Lane. Both the convicted Tamils have consistently maintained their innocence of any involvement in the murders and coming as this does after the Birmingham, Guildford and Tottenham cases in which several convicted persons were freed after years in prison when it became apparent that there was a miscarriage of justice in each of these

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'Defence of the Tigers is Morally and Politically Reprehensible'

– Ram Manikkalingam, M.I.T.

Once again the possibility of a new round of talks appears to be receding, following the opposition expressed to Minister Thondaman's proposals. Sri Lankans, especially Tamils, who are hoping for a permanent respite from the war are, understandably, blaming Sinhala nationalism. Yet Sinhala nationalism, despite its stridency, is in a weaker position now, than on previous occasions when the Sri Lankan government has conducted negotiations with the Tigers and other Tamil political parties. This suggests that if a nascent peace process has been blocked, it is as much due to the distrust caused by the behaviour of the Tigers in the past, as it is due to the successful mobilisation of the Sinhala nationalists. Acknowledging the independent role of the Tigers in sustaining the war in Sri Lanka should not be construed as an apologia for Sinhala nationalism. Instead, examining why the Tigers have consistently prevented the achievement of a political settlement will lead to an understanding of how the Tigers have effectively subsumed Tamil interests to their own. And it is only by separating Tamil interests from Tiger interests, which both the Sinhala and Tamil chauvinists seek to conflate, can it become clear how the behaviour of the Tigers is not only detrimental to peace, but also inimical to the interests of the Tamil people.

Tamil Ultra-Nationalism

The politics of Tamil nationalism, which began as a reaction to Sinhala nationalism, has now acquired its own internal dynamic. This independent dynamic was impelled by the growing dominance of a vicious and extreme form of Tamil nationalism espoused by the Tigers. The emergence of this nationalism can be traced to the dilemmas of a nationalist movement. A nationalist movement uses a dual approach to oppose a dominant power. It invokes the violation of democratic norms, such as individual liberties and freedoms, in the status-quo, while it seeks to mobilise a community on the basis of ties of ethnic solidarity. While these ties are often strong enough to maintain unity in the face of struggle, they can weaken as differences of opinion evolve into rival political programs and strategies. At this point a tension arises between internal democracy and the need for unity in the struggle for collective emancipation. This tension may be resolved in different ways, ranging from democratic dialogue and non-violent confrontation to violent coercion.

In the case of Tamil nationalism, the Tigers set out to eliminate all opposing parties, organisations and individuals. Unity was asserted at the expense of internal democracy. The Tigers, thus, represent an extreme aberration of the emphasis on ethno-national solidarity at the expense of democracy. A counter example to this is the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). The PLO derives its legitimacy from the Palestine National Council (PNC), which is the Palestinian parliament in exile. Despite Fatah dominance of the movement and numerous incidents of inter-factional fighting, major decisions are still made through debate and discussion in the council. The Tiger emphasis on a monolithic unity is a consequence of their attempt to invent a new Tamil identity, where the basis of political programs and alliances are of an ethnically essentialist character. In this framework, political identity is directly derived from one's ethnic identity. Class, caste, gender, individual aspirations and broader social issues are relegated to the periphery.

'Tigerism'

The Tigers invented a new Tamil identity by, simultaneously, drawing upon and denying history. This identity claims to be tied to history on the basis of language, region and tradition. But the Tigers are anti-historical in that they are committed to denying that the Tamil identity also includes a history of co-existence with other communities. The denial of pluralism among communities is only a step away from the denial of pluralism within a community. Thus, one implication of this newly invented Tamil identity (through ethnic essentialism) is that the Tigers have to deny and eliminate real or potential differences of opinions and interests among Tamils. The monolithic unity violently asserted by the Tigers is both the cause of and the consequence of Tamil essentialism, and ultimately culminated in a new political ideology – Tigerism.

The development of this Tamil essentialist ideology is evident in the political attitude and approach of the Tigers towards the Muslims of the North and East. With the growth of this virulent brand of Tamil nationalism, the Muslims of the North and East became steadily alienated from the Tamil community. The Tamil nationalist project at first unwittingly, and then wittingly excluded Muslims, as it set about the invention of a separate Tamil identity. This separate identity, which was initially a defensive strategy with regard to Sinhala discrimination, took on an offensive form with regard to the Muslims. The increasing domination of Tamil nationalism by the Tigers, ultimately led to the massacres of hundreds of Muslims and the expulsion of thousands from the North and East. The exclusionary logic of a 'traditional Tamil homeland,' a direct outgrowth of ethnic essentialism, had been taken to a fanatical extreme. The new Tamil identity, invented by the Tigers, denied not just political space, but even physical space to all non-Tamils in the North and East.

The Tigers have also successfully manipulated the Tamil struggle in order to dominate Tamil politics. This has been achieved by a two-pronged strategy. The first, simple and brutal, has been to murder all political rivals in the Tamil movement. In addition, the Tigers have sought to intimidate and threaten all cultural, social and human rights activists in the North-east, apprehensive of their possible emergence as an alternative source of leadership for the beleaguered Tamil community.

The second strategy, has been based on their cunning use of the peace process. The Tigers, when pushed to a corner, have resorted to ceasefires and negotiations in order to rearm and consolidate themselves. In doing so, however, they have had to pay a price in terms of their loss of control over the Tamil people. A return to peace and normalcy in the North and East meant that the gun no longer ruled, and that people could express themselves more freely. This automatically resulted in an erosion of the Tiger dominance of the Tamil community. Thus, it was precisely at those moments when the possibilities for peace seemed to be emerging that the Tigers broke off negotiations in order to continue the war and regain the 'support' of the Tamil people.

Shrewd Manipulation

This 'support' is obtained neither from genuine sympathy for the Tiger program nor through direct Tiger coercion, but from a shrewd manipulation by the Tigers of the political options available to the Tamil people. By shutting the Tamil people off from the possibility of a negotiated settlement with peace and regional autonomy, the Tigers compel them to choose between Tiger rule or Sri Lankan military rule. When faced with such a stark choice, the Tamil people invariably 'support' the Tigers, because they fear the in-

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evitable carnage that would result from war. This fear is then trumpeted as 'support' for the Tigers, both by the Tigers, themselves, and by their ideological twins in the South – the Sinhala chauvinists.

Thus, the ideology and practice of the Tigers is antagonistic to a negotiated settlement. A negotiated settlement requires, among other factors, a willingness to trade power for peace, the building of alliances across ethnic boundaries and the recognition that ethnic solidarity is not the sole basis of political mobilisation. But ethnic essentialism is just that; it cannot make space for anything other than itself. Peace, democracy and human rights vitiate the commitment to ethnicity because they require loosening the presumption of an ethnic essence. Such an admission would automatically weaken the Tiger stranglehold on Tamil politics. Hence, it is no surprise that the Tigers have eliminated all other political alternatives available to the Tamil people in order to pursue their chimera of a separate Tamil Eelam.

War or Peace?

The Sri Lankan government must bear moral and political responsibility for aggravating the conflict by refusing to grant an adequate devolutionary package that could satisfy all non-chauvinist Tamil opinion. The excuse that the Sri Lankan government has hitherto put forward – that peace is blocked by the intransigence and fickleness of the Tigers – is not a sufficient reason to shun genuine negotiations with other Tamil political parties. The failure of the UNP government to grant and institutionalise regional autonomy, such as federalism, has only complemented Tiger efforts to shut off the political options available to the Tamil people. Instead of keeping the door to a politically negotiated settlement open, the government has only stood by and watched, if not actively helped, the Tigers slam it shut in the face of the yearning for peace of the Tamil people.

A comprehensive federal package of devolution put forward by the government (irrespective of whether the Tigers ceasefire or negotiate) will serve a dual purpose. First, by indicating to the Tamil people that their voice is being heard at the centre, it will practically demonstrate the availability of a political opportunity for them to exit from under Tiger domination. This will exert pressure on the Tigers to ceasefire and negotiate, and then to enter democratic politics. However, if the Tigers flout Tamil opinion, despite the *actual* granting of a federal package of devolution and continue the war, the Sri Lankan government will then have the moral and political legitimacy, internationally and among the Tamils, to defeat the Tigers.

Important Developments

Meanwhile, Tamils must come to terms with two important developments in Sri Lankan politics. The first is that the nature of Sinhala nationalism has been transformed since the Indo-Lanka Peace Accord. The Sinhala opposition expressed at the time of the Peace Accord was the culmination of Sinhala nationalist opposition to Tamil rights and Indian intervention. This opposition was spearheaded by the JVP, which represented the ultra-nationalist segment of Sinhala politics. The JVP was uncompromising with regard to the Tamil question, and based its anti-state campaign on the combined platform of populist social change and anti-Tamil jingoism. The Indo-Lanka Accord was undoubtedly signed under duress. Yet the granting of limited self-rule to the Tamil areas resulted in a strategic compromise on the part of the Sri Lankan state with Tamil aspirations. Key aspects of this compromise also included the recognition of Sri Lanka as a multi-ethnic society and Tamil as an official language. This is now a baseline position from which the Sri Lankan state cannot deviate. Even extreme Sinhala political parties have accepted the basic notion that any political settlement will involve the granting of regional autonomy to the North and the East. The issue now is not whether there should be regional autonomy for the Tamils, but how much. Thus, the peace accord, followed by the defeat of the JVP, created additional political space for the Sri Lankan state to reach a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict, and has transformed the terrain of Sinhala politics.

Undoubtedly, Sinhala nationalism is still a major impediment to the achievement of a political settlement, but it is different from the Sinhala ultra-nationalism of the early 1980s. And more importantly, although Sinhala nationalism may continue to be a part of the state ideology, it is no longer the dominant part. Thus, the trite claims made by Tamil nationalists about Sinhala nationalism, as monolithic, permanent and unchanging, do not ring true in the face of the drastic developments of the past few years.

Isolation of Tamils

The second important change is the gradual political isolation of the Tamils from the international community, corresponding directly with the increasing dominance of the Tigers over Tamil nationalism. As long as Tamil interests are seen as Tiger interests, the struggle of the Tamil people to redress their grievances will only receive tepid support, at best, both in the South and internationally. The Tigers have posed as the saviour-leaders of the Tamils by shrewdly linking genuine Tamil interests to their narrow political project. Unless the aspirations of the Tamil people are politically and ideologically delinked from those of the Tigers, the Tamil struggle will not progress.

Finally, the instinctivly defensive reaction of some Tamils towards any criticism of the Tigers and Tamil ultra-nationalism was understandable in the past, though based on morally shaky grounds. Today, such a defence of the Tigers is morally and politically reprehensible, given the crimes committed by the Tigers against the Muslims and Sinhalese of the Northeast, and the Tiger denial of political freedom to the Tamil people. Moreover, it is precisely through a critical analysis of Tamil nationalism, in general, and the Tigers, in particular, that a new political program for the Tamil people can be articulated – a new program that may enable Tamils to attain peace with dignity.

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Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and a month later the explosion at the Joint Operations Command in Colombo were inter-connected. Udugampola has alleged that Wijeratne who initiated the investigation into the explosives issue, was killed shortly after, and although he had made a personal request to the President to be allowed to investigate the murder he was not allowed to do so.

The opposition held out a threat that if it failed to have a commission appointed, it would have a people's court constituted, to inquire into the allegations.

It seems most unlikely that the opposition is going to succeed with any of its plans, including voting the government out of office on a no-confidence motion.

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cases, one wonders whether the Sri Lankan two are also tragic victims of the same circumstances.

One of the original detainees, Nadarajah, has claimed that he was beaten by the police and threatened with deportation back to Sri Lanka if he did not provide evidence to support their case. This was corroborated by two others, Gerald Prabaharan and Mark Selvadorai. It is hoped that the new investigation will ensure that the kind of justice that any person is entitled to in a civilised society prevails.

Richards Karunairajan.

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The Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka

(The following is a report by a nine-member Canadian Human Rights Mission which visited Sri Lanka during 22-29 January this year).

Introduction

The incredible beauty of Sri Lanka, its enormous potential and rich human resources seemed to magnify the deep tragedy of the ethnic conflict that threatens all that Sri Lanka could be. Team members of the Canadian Human Rights Mission to Sri Lanka were alarmed by the extent of human rights violations and the enormous human cost of the conflict. Equally distressing was the fact that the severity of the situation is so little known or addressed by the international community.

The Canadian team spent eight days in Sri Lanka, from January 22nd to 29th, 1992. They met with government officials, political leaders, spokespersons from non-governmental organizations, religious leaders, community representatives and members of various human rights task forces. The group listened to comments from all sides of the ethnic conflict, including the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). For three days, the team divided into smaller groups and travelled to Vavuniya in the north, to Batticaloa in the east, to Kandy in the central district and to Tangalle and Hambantota in the south.

The team members hope that the following report of the current situation in Sri Lanka will contribute in some small way to a just and lasting resolution of the ethnic conflict and restoration of peace and justice to Sri Lanka.

The North

The Canadian team had hoped that two of its members might be able to travel to Jaffna district to assess the situation in the north. Unfortunately this was not possible. In spite of various proposals for travel to the peninsula, assurance of safety by the LTTE, and considerable pressure on our part, it was not possible to secure permission from the Joint Operation Command to travel farther north than Vavuniya. Even travel to visit the UNHCR refugee camp at Madhu, housing 25,000 refugees, was not allowed. In light of ongoing battles between the security forces and the LTTE, it was not considered sufficiently safe to allow 'VIPs' to travel. This is perhaps a telling indication of the state of war that exists in the north.

Svend Robinson and Marian Botsford Fraser travelled to Vavuniya, on the edge of army-controlled territory. While there, meetings were held with a number of people, including leaders of the Catholic church, the Citizens' Committee, the Brigadier of the Army, and K. Siddhartan of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). While in Colombo, the team also met a number of people visiting from Jaffna, who were able to describe the situation in the Jaffna peninsula.

We were informed of the high level of support for the LTTE on the part of the local population. It was believed that the LTTE has a force of some 10,000 and that its military strength was perhaps underestimated. People indicated that the LTTE was prepared to negotiate but must continue to protect people from serious abuses by the Sri Lankan army. The support for the LTTE is based on the strong resentment that Tamils feel about the resettlement of Sinhalese people in traditional Tamil areas and the economic disparity between the north and south. It was also stated that, given the choice between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Army, the Tamils prefer to support the LTTE.

However, there were other more confusing interpretations of the role of the LTTE and the situation in the north. One person spoke of the hopelessness of the people and their helplessness in that they could not participate in any way in the resolution of the conflict; they could only just survive. We were told that the human rights abuses by the LTTE were not as bad as those by the government and that they had decreased since June 1990. Some people said there was coercion of children into the LTTE armies, while others denied it. We learned of indoctrination meetings held by the LTTE with young children and that only LTTE music is played in Jaffna. We also learned that the children in the training camps were well-fed and well-treated. Observers indicated that the LTTE is very well disciplined, moralistic and undemocratic and that criticism is not permitted. However, the fact that the LTTE soldiers wear cyanide capsules and are willing to die for the cause was cited as an indication of the high level of support for the Tamil cause for which the LTTE fights. People saw the actions of the LTTE often as justifiable retaliation for atrocities committed against Tamils by the armed forces.

The role of PLOTE was also disputed. Their spokesperson described the role of PLOTE as helping to restore normalcy to a troubled area. He acknowledged that PLOTE identifies members of the LTTE to the military and indicated that PLOTE would support the army in a military offensive against the north. Others accused PLOTE of terrible human rights violations in camps close to Vavuniya and saw them as collaborators in atrocities committed by the army. PLOTE believes that they should still be included in any negotiations regarding a political settlement. The LTTE finds this unacceptable.

While it was difficult to be sure of the role of the LTTE, there was little doubt about the immense cost of the ongoing conflict.

We were told and saw ourselves the terrible harassment that occurs at the army checkpoint at Vavuniya on the road going to Jaffna. Security forces searched every person and every bag. We spoke briefly with Tamils who were at least temporarily detained for attempting to smuggle prohibited goods, such as motorcycle plugs and extra batteries, across the frontier. We watched a convoy of about 50 supply trucks and several hundred people on foot make their way into the 'no-man's land'. They would be checked again at the LTTE checkpoint some 800 metres away. Some 2,000 people make the trek in both directions every day.

We were informed of flagrant and arbitrary interpretation of the rules on restricted items going to Jaffna. One person indicated that he believed that there were high level army kickback schemes, allowing some suppliers to go through the checkpoints with sealed trucks.

There is little doubt that the situation in Jaffna district is very serious. From people with whom we spoke, who had recently been in Jaffna, we learned that there is a fuel blockade and import restrictions on essential items such as soap, sanitary supplies, medicine and fertilizers. No electricity has been available in the peninsula for 18 months. Fishing is banned, as the army have tried to control the seas around the islands and ports. Agriculture has reverted to traditional crops. The term 'pre-industrial' was suggested as descriptive of the economy. It is believed by people who remain in Jaffna that the government encourages people to leave and that the middle class, who can afford to leave, do so. There is no stationery, no newsprint, the public library was burned down, and exams were cancelled. The town itself is reported to be very crowded and completely surrounded by security forces. There are unknown numbers of refugees from the outer islands in welfare centres. People expect a military offensive every day and leaflets are periodically dropped by the

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NAVY DENIES SHOOTING AT INDIAN BOATS

Colombo, 26 March – The Commander of the Sri Lankan Navy, Admiral Clancy Fernando, had denied that the Lankan Navy was responsible for shooting Indian fishing boats. The incidents must have been caused by the LTTE masquerading as the Navy, he said at a press conference.

Admiral Fernando said that there had been one incident on 17 March when a trawler had fired on a naval craft and the Navy had fired back resulting in an explosion on the trawler, indicating that it had large supplies of fuel on board. 'There have been instances when LTTE had used Indian trawlers to carry supplies'.

The Navy Commander said that around 50-100 Indian fishing boats crossed the maritime boundary everyday to fish in the rich prawn fields off the Mannar coast, but the Navy turned a blind eye to this. After his recent visit to New Delhi, the Navy had relaxed its attitude to fishing incursions, he added.

Admiral Fernando, however, said the Navy was worried about reports that Indian trawlers had been sighted off the Jaffna coast between Point Pedro and Kankesan thurai. This lay under the flight path of aircraft landing at the Palaly airbase, and was causing concern to the Air Force. If Indian trawlers were allowed there, the LTTE could infiltrate its own boats into the fishing fleet and use them as platforms to shoot at the aircraft as they were coming to land.

The Navy Commander was speaking in response to the complaint by India on 23 March when the Sri Lankan High Commissioner, Mr. Neville Kanakaratne was called to the Foreign Office in Delhi and told that the Sri Lankan Navy had been responsible for repeated attacks on Indian fishermen and their boats causing loss of life and property. The High Commissioner's attention was drawn to specific incidents in which Indian fishermen and boats were attacked on 10 February and 11 March. The Indian High Commission in Colombo had also taken up the matter directly with the authorities in Colombo.

Mr. Kanakaratne, while expressing regrets, had promised to convey India's concern to his government so that remedial measures would be taken.

Katchaiteevu Issue

India has said that there was no change in its position on the maritime boundaries with Sri Lanka in the light of suggestions by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha Jayaram, that the status of the island of Katchaiteevu be redetermined.

After examining with greatest care and attention the suggestions made by the Chief Minister as they had 'important policy implications', Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao had conveyed to the Chief Minister that the maritime boundary question was settled following the 1974 agreement on Palk Straits and the 1976 agreement on Gulf of Mannar and Bay of Bengal. The Katchaiteevu island fell within the boundary of Sri Lanka following these agreements, but Indian fishermen were allowed facilities for drying nets, resting and to attend the St. Anthony's festival.

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military, warning of imminent bombing.

There is little doubt that the truth about Jaffna is unknown in the rest of Sri Lanka and certainly in the rest of the world. It is certain that more food and medical supplies are urgently needed. It was suggested to us that there should be an international team to monitor the human rights situation in Jaffna and to ensure that sufficient humanitarian assistance reaches the people. To us, unable to visit Jaffna ourselves, this must be a high priority.

The East

Peter McCreath and Pierre Duquette, accompanied by Robin Gibson, visited the communities of Batticaloa, Kattenkudy, Kokkadichcholai and Eravur. During the course of three days, conversations were held with community leaders, religious leaders, the military commander of the security forces, the political officer of the LTTE, the Government Agent, the faculty of Eastern University and many members of various small communities.

The most moving part of our three-day visit was the experience of being approached by over 260 individuals, mostly women, and presented with letters or petitions beseeching us to assist with the locating of a disappeared loved one, be it a son or daugher or husband. About 60% of the disappearances had occurred in 1990, the remainder in 1991, with a handful occuring either in 1992 or prior to 1990.

The most alarming aspect of our time in Batticaloa was the level of militarization. Notwithstanding the government statements that Batticaloa district had 'returned to normalcy', the region was under a virtual state of war. There were checkpoints maintained by the security forces at frequent intervals in the towns and on the main roads. The LTTE maintained their checkpoints in the inland areas. While the military personnel seemed courteous in carrying out their responsibilities, the automatic weapons, be it an M16 or T56 or other offensive weapon, carried by virtually every soldier, police officer or Tiger soldier, were highly intimidating. We spoke to two men in Kallady who told us of incidents where villagers had been harassed and killed by Muslim Home Guards and security forces.

The population seemed to be in a general state of fear. People were discouraged from going out at night. The potential for arbitrary arrest and/or disappearance seemed to exist in the minds of most people we met. Only in the Muslim community of Kattenkudy did we find unequivocal and wholehearted support for the security forces and the government. They blamed the LTTE for the August 15th, 1990 mosque massacre, in which 103 people were killed while at prayer.

In the village of Kokkadichcholai, we were deeply moved as the villagers described the June '91 massacre and listed the members of their families among the 107 people killed by security forces. They also complained about daily harassment from the army, including soldiers entering homes and taking what they wanted.

It was apparent to us that normal life in Batticaloa district was not possible. At Eastern University in Chenkalady, the faculty indicated that the government had virtually cut off all funding and that fear of commuting had reduced the student enrolment from the normal number of 800 to 200 students. From June to September 1990, the university was closed and turned into a refugee camp.

Generally there seemed to have been a drastic reduction in government services. For example, hospitals and infirmaries were closed and there was no evidence of reconstruction either of houses or infrastructure. The countryside was dotted with houses and buildings that had been shelled or bombed. It was widely reported that two youths were shot and burned within 400 metres of our hotel the first night we were in Batticaloa.

The Brigadier of the Army seemed to be making an effort to rectify the appalling disregard for human rights of arbitrary arrest, but evidence suggested that not all arrests were reported. Some detainees were kept in secret camps, some people were arrested and held as hostages in an effort to bring in other members of their families, and people were still disappearing or being killed and bodies desecrated with no proper identification or burial.

The principal criticism of the LTTE was their practice of kidnapping and extortion as a form of fundraising. Security force people accused the LTTE of other terrorist atrocities; however, with the exception of the Kattenkudy massacre and the kidnapping, we heard no other complaints. As the lesser of two evils, the Tamils generally seemed more favourably disposed to the Tigers than to government security forces. However, we were left with the feeling that most people wished that both the army and the Tigers would go away and that they might live in peace.

A sad consequence of the conflict was the departure of many of the community leaders. They had left to seek refuge elsewhere. The strongest remaining sense of community leadership seemed to be provided by the intrepid Jesuit fathers of Saint Michael's College, in particular, Father Harry Miller and Father Joseph Mary. Under Father Miller's leadership, the Batticaloa Peace Committee had developed and maintained what is probably the most accurate list of disappeared persons. They have recorded since June 1990 a list of 3,418 disappearances.

Few people addressed any attention to anything going on in faraway Colombo. The universal preoccupation was simple survival.

We left Batticaloa having formed a number of conclusions. It was apparent that respect for human rights of individuals seemed virtually non-existent.

The government's refusal to seriously address the problems of disappeared persons or to establish acceptable forms of due process in dealing with arrests and detentions can only be described as appalling. It would appear that at lower levels there is little discipline in the army. The government is unwilling to admit that atrocities continue to occur or to recognize that the situation is simply out of control. Aside from enforcing some strict discipline, the security forces should substantially reduce their visible military presence throughout the area. This would make it easier to allow the public to feel things are returning to normal.

The Tigers seem to want an end to the conflict, which they admit that they cannot win by military means. They insist that the government take the first step by making a proposal for a political settlement.

Economic resources are badly needed in the east. Development assistance must reach beyond emergency relief and focus on rebuilding the physical and human infrastructure of a badly damaged society. In the absence of leadership from other religious communities, the Roman Catholic Church would seem to be in a strong position to provide local leadership and perhaps could be one of the channels through which aid to the people should be directed. The Canadian High Commissioner should be commended for her support of the work of the Batticaloa Peace Committee. The government should restore full funding to Eastern University. The education of the next generation of leaders must be a high priority.

The Central District

Two team members, Stephen Toope and Lois Wilson, visited people in the central area of Sri Lanka for two days. Among the wide range of groups and individuals we met were the academic staff and students at Peradeniya University; community activists at a two-hour seminar focussing on the Sri Lankan economy and the present situation of ethnic conflict and human

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rights; government officials; villagers at an integrated village development project at Wattegama; tea-pickers at a nearby tea estate; and persons at Satyodaya. At a public meeting attended by about 50 persons, we addressed the topic of 'Federal Form of Government – a Canadian Experience and its relevance to a Multi-Ethnic society'.

We gained several insights from this regional visit that complemented our understanding of the Sri Lanka situation we had gained in Colombo. In several instances, we heard intensive seminar discussion between Sri Lankans themselves on a particular issue and this helped us understand the complexities of a particular issue.

Muslims were united in viewing the proposed unification of the north and east as a threat to their identity, as they would become a minority in the Tamil-dominated area, should this unification occur. They therefore look to the government for protection. Some thought their community would be best served by having provincial council powers devolved, and others that new boundaries for the provinces of the north and east should be re-drawn in any negotiated settlement. We became acutely aware that the ethnic conflict has to do with the Muslim minority in the country, and is not just between Sinhalese and Tamils.

Workers, and particularly young people, are experiencing increased army and police harassment, and human rights violations occur on and around the tea estates. A climate of fear exists as a result of young men being detained without explanation. A recent such incident occurred in the Badulla area in response to the discovery of an alleged arms cache found on the Kanawerella Estate, Moussekelle Division, on November 26, 1991. In contrast to this, the Deputy Inspector General of the police assured us that no persons were being arrested, except on specific information. He did, however, say that workers were being encouraged to inform on other workers suspected of being sympathizers with the LTTE. The atmosphere of fear and mistrust, as well as the hopelessness experienced by youth who see no future for themselves on privatized tea estates, has prompted an increase in the number of young people who consider seriously the LTTE option.

Our visits to workers' homes on the tea estates and seeing the deplorable conditions in which they live (small, unventilated, one-room row shacks left by the British over 50 years ago) lent weight to the thesis proposed at the seminar regarding the economic root causes of the conflict. Using government statistics, the presenter analyzed the present 'open market' economic model adopted by Sri Lankan government. While there has been some growth, the present economic policies are increasing the disparities between the rich and the poor. The economy is unable to sustain the growth rate; the country's indebtedness is increasing; and the present economic policies are resulting in inequality in the distribution of income among the population. In this regard, it was felt that the implications of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank for Sri Lanka should be addressed. The potential conflict that could erupt on the tea estates between the workers, the LTTE persons beginning to impinge on the area and the army and police, could be enormously dangerous to the economy and social well-being. The socio-political and economic roots of unrest, as well as the volatile issues of racism evident on the tea estates, urgently need to be addressed to prevent further escalation of the conflict.

People in the region gave us a very strong message that 'everything is decided in Colombo', and that such strong centralization is not fully appreciated by the region, nor can such centralization respond to regional issues.

We were able to see the kind of development supported by Canadian aid through the Sri Lanka Canada Development Fund when we visited the integrated village development project at Wattegama. The unique feature of this project was the affirmation of traditional Sri Lankan cultural values as expressed in traditional dance, brass, fibre and woodworking crafts. These were being taught to the children, not as a means of future livelihood necessarily, but as a way of affirming their cultural identity and encouraging pride in themselves. Along with this significant contribution to village development was an income-generating plant farm and a common threshing floor and community centre. We dropped in on a community meeting that was arranging the 'first-ever' trip of the villagers to Kandy. The thrust of this kind of development work was obviously strengthening the people's participation in decisions affecting their lives and thereby making a strong contribution to the process of democratization. We thoroughly commend such models of development as a significant factor in stabilizing the present situation.

The pervasive climate of fear was evident on the university campus. Some academics expressed fear of speaking openly against human rights violations for fear of reprisal. They stressed that the present climate is not one that fosters intellectual creativity. When we asked about the role of the academic community in the present crisis, it became evident that the academic community was reluctant to assume any leadership role out of fear.

Our conviction is that close attention should be paid to the central region of Sri Lanka, as the conflict moves increasingly from the north and east into the central region.

The South

Beryl Gaffney and Ken Kuhn travelled to Matara, Tangalle and Hambantota in the southern district of Sri Lanka. During their visit they visited a number of development projects supported by the Sri Lanka Canada Development Fund, spoke with the Members of Parliament for the area, visited a human rights exhibit and met with a group of about one hundred people who were relatives of the 'disappeared'.

The drive to Tangalle was an experience in itself. Although not a long distance, the trip may take hours, as a result of congested traffic and sharing the road with everything from automobiles, bicycles, buses, pedestrians, horse-drawn vehicles and free-roaming cows. The coastal road is incredibly beautiful and one cannot help but get a sense of the shivers when looking out over the India Ocean, as one realizes that there is no land mass between the shore and Antarctica. However, beauty is not the only experience of the road. We passed a graveyard, where a military funeral was in process. Two days earlier, 12 young military men had been killed in the north due to the tragic ethnic conflict that is raging in Sri Lanka. One could not help but notice the guards sporting their AK47s and surveying those in attendance.

In Tangalle, we visited the Aesthetic Studio Institute. This is a job-oriented training centre in arts and crafts for young people in the Tangalle and Hambantota area. The intent is to build up a professional group from unemployed youth from a poor section of the community. Further, they are using their dancing, music and artistic talents as a powerful media for development education. We were pleased that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), through the Sri Lanka Canada Development Fund, was supporting this program.

Our most moving experience was the visit, set up by Mahinda Rajpakse, M.P. for Tangalle, with about 100 of his constituents. They came to tell their stories of missing husbands, sons and brothers; the human suffering and intolerable violations of the rights of persons. For example, a son had been abducted from his repair shop and was never seen again because he had worked for a JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna) leader who had contested an election. One mother not only lost her son, taken because he was working for peace for Sri Lanka, but her house was burned down. She filed a habeas cor-

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Human Rights and Foreign Aid

– Charles Abeysekera –

Freedom of the Press: Sri Lanka Style

The SUNDAY OBSERVER, a newspaper of the Lake House group which is owned and operated by the state, requested Mr. Charles Abeysekera, President of the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), to give them a note of about 800 words, on the linkage between human rights and foreign aid for publication in their page entitled OPEN SPACE. This was in the context of a debate that has been going on for some time on the question of foreign intervention in the Sri Lankan human rights situation. Statements by politicians, editors of the national press and writers of letters to the newspapers have all decried such interventions as meddling in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and an infringement of the country's sovereignty. The latest instance was when a Canadian fact-finding team that visited the country in January 1992 was castigated for its comments. Noteworthy in this respect were some editorials in the Daily Observer and a statement by the State Minister for Information; he claimed that Sri Lankans had been properly appreciative of human rights when these critics were still in trees and asked them to look after the rights of their own populations.

Particularly irksome to the proponents of these views was the linking of foreign aid to the issue of human rights. This was frequently referred to as imperialist or colonialist interference.

Mr. Abeysekera responded to the request because he thought that some plain speaking was necessary. His article was published in the issue of 16 February 1992 but in a severely truncated form.

The author had tried to lay down the general position with regard to national sovereignty and the international covenants on human rights and to discuss the Sri Lankan situation in that context. Most of the specific comments on the situation of Sri Lanka have been edited out. Thus his line of argument has been vitiated and his note made to appear rather vague.

There is no censorship of the press in operation now. However, self-censorship is a common phenomenon, particularly in the government-owned press.

Mr. Abeysekera's article is reproduced in full, with the sections edited out by the SUNDAY OBSERVER in italic bold.

– Editor.

The relationship between human rights and foreign aid has become so mixed up with notions of national sovereignty that some discussions seem to have lost sight of reason. It is therefore better to begin by separating them.

Human Rights are, today, those civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenants to which all nations, including Sri Lanka have subscribed. These rights are to be universally enjoyed by all human beings. They are primarily a reflection of the experiences during and after the second world war, even though the concepts have had a far longer history.

The important thing to note is that when nations subscribe to these covenants and other instruments they are in effect agreeing to cede a part of their sovereignty to international organs. There is the United Nations Commission on Human Rights which meets in Geneva and is composed of about 50 elected states. There is the UN Committee on Human Rights, a group of selected individuals in their own right, which meets in New York. Governments have agreed to be answerable to these institutions with regard to the due observance of human rights in their territories. ***For example, all governments have to subject themselves to a regular five year report to the UN committee; it was Sri Lanka's turn last year and the representative of the government did not have an easy time at those hearings. The Commission on Human Rights has the right to receive representations and where they deem it necessary, to send working groups and rapporteurs to find out for themselves the exact situation in a country. The Working Group on Disappearances which visited Sri Lanka in October 1991 was one such.***

The international covenants thus make a state answerable to international organs for their adherence to the norms of human rights.

Not only that. These same agreements enjoin all states to do their best to ensure that human rights are observed at the global level. There have also developed other organisations, not at the state level, concerned with the promotion and advancement of human rights, such as for example, Amnesty International, Asia Watch, the International Commission of Jurists. Governments often find themselves answerable to them as well. ***The Sri Lanka government, for example, accepted a visit from Amnesty last year and agreed to accept and implement most of their recommendations.***

The situation, then, is that all countries have agreed, voluntarily, to cede a part of their sovereignty with regard to the way they deal with their citizens' rights.

In this context, to speak of interference is totally wrong. We have to accept that the outside world has the right, and even the duty, to look into our human rights record. To say that we were safeguarding human rights while 'they' were in trees and to point to shortcomings in their own countries is simply no answer. We can certainly point out such defects; we have the right to do so. But it will even be worse than the pot calling the kettle black.

What we have to be ashamed of is not that intervention of this type is taking place, but that we have behaved in such a shameless and blatant manner in violating the civil rights of our citizens that we invite this justified intervention. The Working Group on Disappearances has just reported that they have recorded 12,000 disappearances attributable to state security forces; they say that this is the highest recorded by them for any country. We are well known for torture and deaths in custody, for extra-judicial killings and for reprisal massacres. We are equally well known for arbitrary arrests and for detentions for long periods.

The fact that the anti-state forces in Sri Lanka are equally well known for their brutality is no answer either. The LTTE does indulge in massacres of unarmed civilians, in killing off their opponents, in keeping prisoners in inhuman conditions and in torturing them and in extortion. This, however does not legitimise similar tactics by the state, which is expected to adhere to a set of civilised norms.

If these are the conditions under which we live and we have been demonstrably unable to improve them by our own efforts, then I, for one, am thankful for foreign intervention. After all, a government unresponsive to many measures advocated for long by local human rights groups accepted them when they came from Amnesty.

As for the link with foreign aid, two things are happening together. An increasing consciousness in the world about international responsibility for the safe-guarding of human rights is putting pressure on aid-giving governments from their own citizens. They respond to that by putting pressure on Sri Lanka to improve its human rights record in the area which they think is most effective – linking aid with human rights, putting conditions on aid. Again, I think they are behaving rationally and that their behaviour is in our interest. ***After all, we know that the government acts with a certain amount of circumspection in the period before the aid meeting. We do not object to that, do we?***

Continued on page 22

A Rhythmic Extravaganza

It was an exhilarating experience. A full ensemble of percussions were performing before a packed audience at the South Norwood Centre, Croydon, on March 29th, and the lead player on the Mridangam was fourteen year old Ranjith Kanagasundaram. It was his Arangetram, his debut. A distinguishing feature of this inaugural concert was, his conductor as well as the support performers on the gatam and the Kanjeera were Ranjith's former teachers: a generous tribute to the artistic maturity of Ranjith's skill on the instrument.

The programme provided an excellent opportunity to the young artiste to display his grasp in the various departments of tala scheme in carnatic musical mode. The most important aspect of Tala in our Carnatic music is **Kala pramana:** *that is, the choice of the correct tempo for every piece as well as the strict maintenance of the tempo for the duration of the piece, whether a short kriti or a long complex pallavi. In this respect it was remarkable that young Ranjith was glued to the scale and tempo throughout. The varying tala scales chosen for the programme on the whole gave an opportunity to the discerning listeners to assess the capacity of the performer in coping with the arithmetics of the tala system peculiar to our music. The threes, fours, fives and sevens would baffle even some of our experienced musicians, but Ranjith was admirably thorough with ease and polish.*

The programme planners were wise in selecting a pallavi in a straight Athi tala in order to give young Ranjith facility to go through the gati bhedas, a distinguishing feature in pallavi singing, for the sahitya and swara. It was an exercise in concentration and devotion and Ranjith went through it flawlessly and deserved a full throated ovation from the audience. One important aspect noticeable in this young musician is his ability to bring out tonal variations in his handling of the mridangam which many a veteran is known to fail to achieve. It needs just not the play of the fingers but a perceptive image of sound. Overall the concert was gone through with remarkable finish and the participants contributed the best of theirs to enhance the skill of Ranjith. The vocalist Shasikala Kothandapani went through the variegated array of pieces with sure grasp and the others on the instruments gave excellent support: Tiruvarur Kothandapani on the violin did much to enliven the concert.

Rasiah Balasri on the gatam, Kumar Kanthan on the kanjira and Sithambaranathan on the morsing gave excellent support. Muthu Sivaraja, the present teacher and the conductor at the arangetram deserves praise for the excellent way his disciple was able to exhibit his acquired knowledge on the mridangam. The group as a whole did a wonderful job of it.

The arangetram, was presented by the South London Tamil School, Croydon, the institution that provided the teaching and studies to the young artiste. Besides the institution the Kanagasundaram family deserves congratulations for sponsoring and providing all facilities for their children to devote interest in maintaining the cultural heritage of the Tamils. It is interesting to know that Ranjith has taken up the flute and violin besides mridangam. Also his success on the piano makes him a polyglot artist. Our congratulations.

– Sivapatha Sundaram.

Cultural Evening

The Institute of Tamil Culture based in Surbiton, celebrated the Tamil New Year and their 6th Anniversary on 5.4.92 at Surbiton Assembly Rooms with the hall overflowing. The Mayor of the Royal Borough of Kingston-upon-Thames, Cllr. David Smedley was the Chief Guest and the Chief Executive Officers, Mr. Timothy Hornsby, Mrs. Anita Pollock M.E.P. for South West London and several councillors were the other guests.

Over 100 children between the ages 4 and 13 presented several items of music, dance and drama. The children were bubbling with enthusiasm and confidence and the capacity crowd had three and a half hours of good entertainment.

Mr. W. Thayalan, the Chairman of the Institute in his speech stated that the growth of the Institute was itself a standing testimony for the crying need for it to pass the rich culture of the Tamils to posterity.

Classes are conducted by the Institute every Saturday between 9am and 1pm at Knollmead Primary School, Tolworth, Surrey. The subjects taught are Tamil Language, Vocal Music, Veena, Violin, Miruthangam and Bharatha Natyam.

World Saiva Conference

International Saiva delegates meeting in Madras on 29.2.92 made a historic decision establishing a world Saiva Council which would in due course, function as the supreme authority coordinating Saivite Hindu affairs internationally. The council will consist of regional, academic, government, Temple and mutt representatives from India. Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, Mauritius, U.K., U.S.A., and Europe. Swami Siva Nandhi, head of London Meikandaar Aadheenam was unanimously elected the Council's first Secretary-General.

In his inaugural address, Swami Siva Nandhi outlined a ten point action plan for Saivite Hindu regeneration and revival. This included the formation of Siva Thondar Ani (full time saiva teachers) for each country for saiva social and religious service; the publication of Saiva Theological books in English and other world languages, the formation of a World Saiva Supreme Council to coordinate international efforts to strengthen saiva solidarity and to tackle problems such as the conversion of Hindus to other faiths especially in South India and South Africa.

Two Children Murdered by Mother in Toronto

Toronto, 20 March – A young Sri Lankan Tamil woman, Mrs. Arunthathy Sriskantharajah aged 26, has been charged with the killing of two of her infant children by strangulation.

According to the police, the two infant sisters, Aparina (2½) and Apirani (1½) had died of 'asphyxia by strangulation of the neck', but the motive for the murder is baffling the police. However, the police are looking for a man with 'a forceful and loud voice'; neighbours had reported that they heard yelling near the Sriskantharajah apartment on the night the bodies were found.

The woman's husband, Sivaguru Sriskantharajah who is said to be a businessman, was reportedly away on a business trip to Singapore and therefore was not at home when the killings took place. The couple were married in Sri Lanka in 1988 and emigrated to Canada in 1990. The accused woman's elder brother and sister are also residents of Canada in Montreal.

A South Asian Women's Group spokesperson, Jasmeet Gill said that the pressure on immigrant women from south Asia to adapt to north American culture was enormous. 'Many simply cannot cope with their isolated male-dominated lives, sometimes resorting to tragically drastic measures such as suicide or murder'.

A Toronto sociologist, Caryl Abrahams observed that it was very easy for immigrant or refugee women to feel totally isolated and bereft in this culture.

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READERS FORUM

PEACE PROPOSAL AND MUSLIMS

In the course of general discussion over the peace proposal by Mr. S. Thondaman it is pertinent to highlight a few relevant points concerning the other minority in Sri Lanka, the Muslims.

It has been over one year since the Muslims who were living in Mannar, Mullaithevu and Jaffna for generations, were forcibly evacuated from their homes by LTTE. Now there are more than 75,000 Muslims who are living in refugee camps and outside the camps in their own country. Several Muslim businessmen are now kept as hostages in Jaffna by LTTE who demands a ransom of 5 million rupees for the release of each of them.

By far, few eyebrows were raised among the other communities, Sinhala and Tamil, over the misery of this minority. However, none seems to take this event as an important issue even to discuss at a peace forum. Even though Thondaman took pains to mention that the Muslim minority rights should be looked after through Pradheshiya Sabah, probably referring to the administration of the non-contiguous Muslim regions in the Eastern Province, he chose to ignore the plight of the displaced Muslims from the Northern Province. Perhaps he wouldn't have found that the issue is important enough to be highlighted at this stage of the proposal.

It is true that the Tamils in Sri Lanka have grievances over the violations of their fundamental rights by the majority Sinhalese. The Muslims in Sri Lanka have far wider concern over their mere existence in the areas within the so-called traditional homelands of Tamils. Muslims had to face the atrocities of the then Tamil National Army (TNA) during the EPRLF rule under the Provincial Council. Muslim policemen were singled out and killed by LTTE when LTTE declared the so-called second Eelam war. Muslims were massacred by LTTE gunmen while performing their night prayer at the mosque. Now Muslims who lived in the entire Northern Province have been driven out of their homes by LTTE.

Mr. S. Thondaman feels that the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces is a necessary ingredient for a lasting peace in Sri Lanka, even without calling a referendum in the Eastern province as outlined in the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement. Majority of the Muslims in the Eastern province are very suspicious about a Tamil rule dominated by the forces from the Northern province. They believe that the coexistence of the Tamils and Muslims in the Eastern province was hampered only after the gun culture was introduced by all Tamil militant groups that emerged from the North. These militant groups created the rift between these peaceful communities to increase their dominance within the Tamil community in the Eastern province, which otherwise was dormant to their call for Tamil Eelam for a long period of time.

Citing the endorsement of one of the Muslim leaders, Mr. Ashrof is not sufficient to say that Mr. S. Thondaman has the mandate to propose such a merger without a referendum. Only the people of Eastern Province, both Muslims and Tamils have their democratic right to say which is good for themselves, not the negotiating parties, the Sri Lanka Government and LTTE.

Therefore, it is a fallacy to assume that the grievances of the Muslim community could be put off for a future forum just because the Muslims in Sri Lanka have so far not resorted to armed struggle unlike their Tamil counterparts, to win back their fundamental rights. It is also not correct to assume that the issues concerning the peace proposal should be formulated to satisfy the aspirations of only the warring parties but of all those who are affected by the war itself.

M.I. Mohamed Nakeeb,

Brunei.

PEACE MOVES

Tamil Times Issue of 15th January 1992 is full of peace moves and peace news.

2. I am not a politician nor devoted to politics. So my opinion is that of an ordinary man and here it is for what it is worth.

3. The Island of Sri Lanka was not created by Singalese or Tamils. So they have no right for any portion of Sri Lanka, except to say that they are living in certain portions of Sri Lanka.

4. These two communities and others together, accepted a constitution which was put to them by the British who had a say to give away the Island of Sri Lanka to them and they to accept it.

5. That Constitution must have provided certain areas to be represented by Tamils and other areas to be represented by others, safeguarding the interest of the minority, so that, the majority may not be able to exert undue hardship on the minority.

Forgetting all the ugly things that have since passed why not both the Singalese, Tamils and others start once more from the basis to which they all agreed at one time.

6. As the unilateral Government has miserably failed to achieve peace and prosperity, why not allow each of the areas be treated as an Independent unit and agree to form a Federal government with proper safeguards to protect their rights.

7. In Malaysia, there were the three Straits settlements, wholly under the British, the four Federated Malay States, each having a ruler of its own with a British Resident to assist in making laws as well as in administration and the four unfederated Malay States each with an independent ruler with only a British advisor.

8. When it became necessary to draw up the constitution for Malaysia, a commission made up of:

a) One expert from India
b) One expert from Pakistan
c) One expert from England

may be one or more constitutional experts was appointed. Similarly, the Sri Lanka Government can invite Constitutional experts from other countries to draw up an impartial constitution, who may invite representations from all concerned.

9. You may improve on this, if you are interested and forward to proper channels for necessary action for example, the committee for minorities of the United Nations Organisations, Chairman of the Human Rights and the President of the Sri Lankan Government and others in Sri Lanka, individuals and papers who really make sacrifice for peace, including international jurists in Geneva.

10. We trust that example set out by Malaysia may be found very suitable to be followed by Sri Lanka.

A. Arumugam

No.3, Lorong Scott,
50470 Kuala Lumpur,
Malaysia.

VOCAL ARANGETRAM

I read the review of the Vocal Arangetram of Sai Swarupini by Dr. John Marr in the *Tamil Times* of 15/10/01. It was mentioned therein that this was the first vocal arangetram of carnatic music in Britain. I can say with certainty that the vocal arangetram of one Miss Sashikala Sivarajah took place in London a little over four years ago. I do not know if there have been others since. It is not particularly important whether an arangetram was first of its kind or unique in any other way, but critics should be sure of their facts before they make such statements.

R. Mahadevan

P.O. Box 15753,
Doha – Qatar.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CLOUD PUSHER

DR. S.R. SILVAPULLE's *The Cloud Pusher* is a fascinating insight into issues, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes that most of us take for granted and even almost blindly stipulate as inevitable everyday factors of mortal life. But in this book, the author proceeds through a simple theme to question these in a manner that is bound to raise many questions – even challenge the 'temerity' of a mortal to question the mysteries of the divine and the various concepts that reign supreme in our lives.

Dr. Silvapulle's desire to understand the phenomena of nature underlines a simple story which begins on a rather sinister morning in the Vatican when the Holy Father mysteriously disappears from his own apartment. He was last seen the previous evening. There was an eerie silence and the official announcement of his disappearance was also delayed.

Taking this event as the cue, the author credits two youngsters 10-year-old Angelo and his 15-year-old sister Angela with a number of innocent but incisive questions about the church and its established practices and most of these are directed to their uncle Marco whose strong and controversial views of the Church and its beliefs would make many uncomfortable if not angry. At one point in reply to Angelo's question he asserts: 'All religions have come about because of a very big misunderstanding'. Maybe Marco finds it hard to understand that religion can also be a great consolation to those affected by trials and tribulations. They believe that there is some mysterious force out there to guide and help and this faith alone can be a source of great strength to them.

The story moves from the Vatican's dilemma of the morning to many live issues that affect the humankind making *The Cloud Pusher* a thinking person's refuge in an intricate labyrinth of concepts, beliefs and religious faiths of all kinds. The thinking behind it is deep and challenging and one wonders whether the final answer will lead towards a realisation that all mortality finds its perfection in the supernatural – that is when the human mind can think beyond the bounds of the religious jungles in which it has become a captive.

The Cloud Pusher is available from the author who can be contacted at **1 Dale Avenue, Edgware, Middx., HA8 6AD. Tel: 081 952 2273.**

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Ulahamellam Viyabharihal – A Review

Karthigeyan and Sakunthala were two youthful Tamils who found themselves through events beyond their intentions and aspirations adrift across the oceans. Their's was a love story that got thrown sadly on the rocks.

The circumstances that caused their drift were political and socio-cultural with the former taking a violent direction under militant leadership that believed in an armed movement for liberation. In respect of the latter, young people like Karthigeyan and Sakunthala found the community's norms, values and practices quite archaic and intolerable.

On the one hand they found their leaders were visionless and corrupt. They had given the Tamils a ride to utter desolation. On the other hand the new order that replaced them had shown that the fire power on which they built their hopes had already proved counter productive if not totally destructive to the cause of the Tamils.

The Karthigeyan-Sakunthala story also emphasises the struggle of the progressives within the community's social structure with its evil practices still having their stranglehold. In all these – political, social and cultural – the hallmarks of self-aggrandizement of the strong ones within the community are seen scarred right across the whole gamut of its tragic post-independent history.

It is a sad reflection that the quest for liberation has been only political and that too directed against Sinhala domination. But within the community every Tamil remains encased within the solid reinforced concrete of its own age-old orders and any voice that questions these are dealt with a force that exposes the violent, intolerant nature and character of the community's liberation struggle.

Ulahamellam Viyabharihal (Traders worldwide) may be a story woven around Karthigeyan and Sakunthala but through them the author Rajeswary Balasubramaniam has reflected a community's parlous political state and its pathetic liberation struggle. A gifted writer and one who has her eyes set on cinematic productions in the near future, Rajeswary who has lived in London for 20 years, has seen through the tough webbery of deceipt and sterile politics that has imprisoned the Tamils thus rendering their struggle for liberation an almost impossible task.

The story of Karthigeyan and Sakunthala speaks loudly and boldly. Works of this nature will certainly inspire and give fresh hopes to those Tamils who are able to perceive their community's socio-cultural and political bankruptcy and the false leaders who have led it virtually to the brink of disaster.

Priced at Rs.20 in India, copies of **Ulahamellam Viyabharihal** are available from Tamil Shops in U.K. and from the author at: **3 Canonbury Street, London N1 2TE for £3.90.**

Vanati Sivaraman.

Continued from page 19

There is, however, another aspect about which I am not so sure. This is the new concern of the IMF, the World Bank and their supporters with what they call 'good governance'. ***This concern is, I think, primarily concerned with erecting the kind of juridical structure necessary for the spread of market relations and has to be discussed in another context.***

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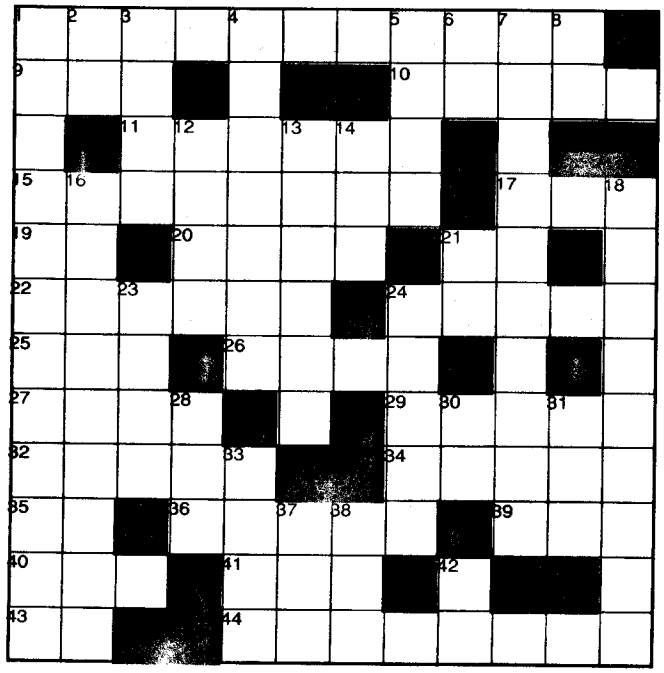
Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 31 May 1992.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the June 1992 issue.

The winner will receive a prize of £20.00 sterling.

All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.

QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 15. Compiled by: Richards



Across.

1. British Labour Party supremo (4,7)
9. The medium through which aircraft fly (3)
10. Express emotion theatrically (5)
11. Germany's elder statesman (6)
15. Devices that measure electric current (8)
17. Shrill relentless talk (3)
19. Carnatic musical note (2)
20. European holiday resort (4)
21. Carnatic musical note (2)
22. State of mind with which an act is committed (6)
24. Feeling of resentment stemming from one's wounded vanity or pride (5)
25. Coco de –, the coconut of the sea, a unique palm from the Republic of Seychelles (3)
26. A festive celebration (4)
27. Precipitation of small hard pellets of ice and snow (4)
29. First space traveller of the canine community (5)
32. Ring-type coral formation that partially or totally encloses a lagoon – e.g. Aldabra in the Indian Ocean (5)
34. Laid with buried explosives (5)
35. In reference to . . (2)
36. Rhythmic gestures usually set to music (5)
39. Mahaveli is one, Kelani is another and Deduru is a third and there are many such in Sri Lanka (3)
40. Chest that contained the Ten Commandments on stone tablets (3)
41. Ostrich-like flightless bird of New Zealand now extinct (3)
43. Chemical symbol for osmium (2)
44. Hindu monarch of a Himalayan state (8)

Down:

1. India's Prime Minister (9,3)
2. The Dutch colonial name for the islands of Indonesia, abb. (2)
3. Denotes a missile of the intermediate range (4)
4. Down Under leader who has recently expressed strong republican views (7)
5. Traps (4)
6. A most sacred mantra in the Hindu scriptures (2)
7. Head of State of the Republic of the Philippines (4,6)
8. Short knight (2)
12. Revolutionary leader of the Seychelles whose policy of democratic socialism has served his country well (4)
13. The drink of the gods in Greek mythology (6)
14. Colour in disarray (3)
16. Deadly denizens of the Kumaon jungles of the Himalayas hunted by Jim Corbett (9)
18. Indian Ocean island state leader who has to tackle a Himalayan problem in his country – but certainly not with guns (9)
21. Greek alphabet has mathematical significance (2)
23. A composition of three performers (4)
24. Great Swedish political leader who fell a victim to the bullets of an assassin (5)
28. Doctor of Laws (3)
30. South American sloth (2)
31. A crucial element or a solution to a test (3)
33. Charles and Mary re-wrote many of Shakespeare's plays in prose for younger readers (4)
37. Ion in retreat (3)
38. Box-like enclosure for passengers on a conveyance (3)
42. Zinc briefly (2)

Quiz Crosswords – 13: Solutions.

Across: 1. Kambar. 6. Aesop. 10. Ava. 11. Main. 12. Ala. 13. Grimm.. 15. Keen. 16. Items. 18. PVA. 20. Den. 22. Enoch. 24. An. 25. Calvin. 28. Ha. 29. Sakuntala. 31. At. 32. Alibi. 33. Data. 35. Ib. 36. Mammal. 40. Lead-ins. 41. Ft. 42. Tea. 43. Lek. 44. Asir. 46. Hosni. 47. Nora.

Down: 1. Kalidasa. 2. AV. 3. Magen. 4. Amis. 5. Ram. 6. An. 7. SAE. 8. Ole. 9. Panchatantra. 14. RM. 15. Kannadasan. 17. Tenali. 19. Veil. 21. Alt. 23. Chat. 25. Cub. 26. Animals. 27. Valmiki. 30. Kiblah. 34. AL. 37. Aden. 38. MN. 39. Sty. 41. Fir. 45. So.

Winner: Dr. Lakshmi Krishna, 38 Weyman Road, London SE3 0RY.

Continued from page 18

pus motion, but it never came to trial. Two brothers, aged 24 and 34, suspected as JVP supporters, were taken in '89 and '90. The remaining three brothers live in constant fear and are being questioned continually by the police. The stories we heard related to but a few of the thousands who have either disappeared or were known to be murdered in the south. It was evident to us, even though the conflict is now centred in the north and east, that fear in the south is everywhere. Disappearances still happen. As recently as January 13, 1992, the husband of a young 31-year-old mother of three small children was forcibly removed from their home. She still does not know where he is.

In Matara, we visited an exhibition entitled 'For Protection of Humanity'. It was a visual display of approximately 100 artistic depictions of the human rights violations in Sri Lanka over recent years. The display, no doubt, was provocative visually and cast doubt on the motives and objectives of the government of Sri Lanka and President Premadasa. In the small hours of the next morning, masked armed men in camouflage T-shirts stormed the exhibit, assaulted those in attendance and took away the photographs and displays. For us, the episode highlighted the lack of freedom of expression and the underlying fear of the gun, which still very much holds sway, even in the south.

Our final visit was to another non-governmental organization's development program, the Janashakthi Bank Societies for Women in the Hambantota district. Supported by the Sri Lanka Canada Development Fund, the program had established a bank loan scheme for women, encouraging them to stand on their own feet. The target group is the most disadvantaged in the community. The initiative promotes self-disclipine amongst individuals who have not developed the habit of saving. The savings program is complemented by a library program, and education regarding health and child development. Approximately 13,000 women benefit from the project.

Continued from page 5

genuine and innermost desire to live in unity and harmony with the people in the South whom we consider as our fellow citizens.'

The core message conveyed to us during our visit by various groups is summed up in the position stated above. A few concrete suggestions were made during the course of the discusssions we held.

(a) As the lack of communication between the North and the South creates prejudices and paves the way for further alienation, that a people to people dialogue through goodwill visits be pursued.

(b) that multi-religious groups make visits to the people of the North in order to bring about greater understanding of one another's positions and apprehensions.

(c) The need to make some gestures of goodwill, such as easing further the embargo on food, medicine, and other essentials in order to create mutual confidence and thus bring about the necessary climate for a speedy cessation of hostilities in view of a negotiated political solution.

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MATRIMONIAL

Electronic Engineer, *Senior Systems Analyst, New Zealand, British Citizen, Honours graduate, Doctor's son, 28, seeks graduate bride, willing migrate, intermarriage considered – 9c Gowrie Court, Dundee, Scotland.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek groom for graduate, fair, slim, attractive daughter, 29, 5'6", presently in Colombo, two brothers in Australia. Send horoscope, details. M 577 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek partner for son, 26, sober habits, personable, well employed electronic research engineer, California. M 578 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek partner for only daughter, fair, presentable, educated, 36, Australian citizen. Send horoscope, details. M 579 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu mother *seeks partners for professionally qualified daughter, 33; son, 38. Send details, horoscope. M 580 c/o Tamil Times.*

Hindu parents *seek professionally qualified groom for only daughter, aged 27, qualified from Australian University and working in a legal firm in Australia. Details with horoscope to M 581 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffnu Hindu parent *seeks suitably qualified partner, 33-37, for professionally qualified daughter working in U.K. M 582 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek qualified bride for son, 33, electronic engineer presently doing post graduate studies. Reply with details, photo, horoscope. M 583 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu uncle *seeks groom for fair pretty niece, 39, looks much younger, working in London. Send details, horoscope. M 584 c/o Tamil Times.*

Christian mother *seeks bride between 35 and 40 for son in good employment and groom over 45 for daughter, accountant. Both house owners and settled in USA. M 585 c/o Tamil Times.*

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent wedding.

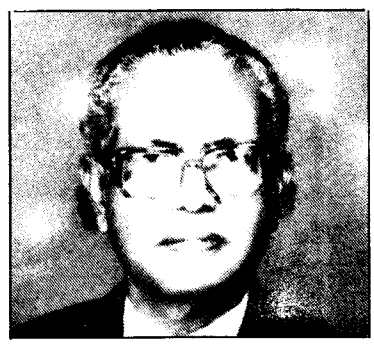
Karunakaran *son of Mr. & Mrs. S.S. Sabanayagam of Apt. 710, 10 Stone Hill Court, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada and* **Rahini** *daughter of Mr. & Mrs. S. Selvajeyam of P.O. Box 42392, Casarina, Darwin, Australia on 4.4.92 at Ganesha Hindu Temple, Richmond Hill, Ontario, Canada.*

Krishna *son of Dr. & Mrs. N. Kandasamy of 4 Reservoir Road, Liverpool, U.K. and* **Katharine** *daughter of Mr. & Mrs. D. Morgan, Lower Letton, Bucknell, Shropshire, U.K. On 12.4.92 at Bourne Hall, Spring Street, Ewell, Surrey, U.K.*

OBITUARIES

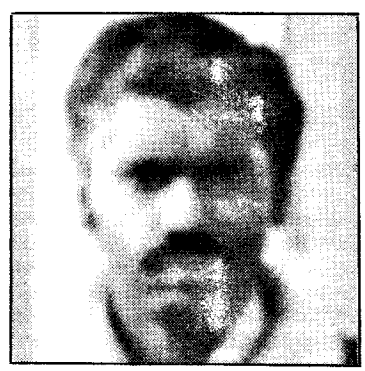
Goby Pathmanathan *(20) only beloved son of Mr. & Mrs. C. Pathmanathan; brother of Meera passed away peacefully in King George Hospital, Ilford on 22nd March 1992. Sadly missed by family, friends and relatives. – 401 Ley Street, Ilford, Essex IG1 4AB, U.K. Tel: 081 478 2648.*

Nagamuthu Mailvaganam *(93) Retired Superintendent of Grand Central Rubber Estates Limited, of Hindu College Lane, Manipay; beloved husband of the late Theeparatnam; father of Sivapalarajah (Canada), Sivaluxumy and Sivamany; brother of the late N. Rasiah of Uduvil and late N. Chelliah of Manipay; father-in-law of Janakidevi, Panjenthiran and late Arasaratnam; grandfather of Nimalini, Indrajit (both of Canada), Jeyaharan and Umakanthan (US), Kanthepan (Colombo), Thayalan (France), Shivas, Sabesan, Sivagini and Vithiya passed away after a brief illness at Sandilipay on 27.1.92. Cremation took place on 29th January at Manipay, Sri Lanka – 9 Parsell Square, Scarborough, Ontario M1B 2A5, Canada.*



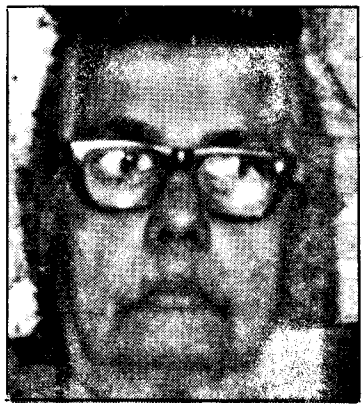
Mr. Namasivayam Mahesan, *formerly of Koddady, Jaffna and Mercantile Credit; beloved son of the late Mr. & Mrs. Namasivayam; beloved husband of Manoranjitham; loving father of Namasivayam (Ramana), Selvaranjini, Murugesan, Arjunan, Nagulan, Umayal, Karnan (all of Australia) and Sahadevan of India; grandfather of Abhirami, Anusha and Mayuran; father-in-law of Santhi, Logan and Baskaran; son-in-law of Mr. Kanthasamy and the late Mrs. Kanthasamy; brother of Thayalnayaki, late Sathisivam, Nadesan, Maheswari, Saraswathy, late Valambihai and Sivasubramaniam; brother-in-law of Sivagnanam, late Ayadurai, late Ganesan, late Rajendram, Annaledchumy, Mathivathany and Mrs. Packiam Thirunavukkarasu; passed away on 28.2.92 in Perth, Australia. Sadly missed by his loved ones and friends. May his soul rest in peace with Lord Shiva. – 164 Kilmorie Road, London SE23 2SR. Tel: 081 699 1658.*

Dr. K. Indramohan, *Dental Surgeon, Copper Mines, Chingola, Zambia; beloved husband of Padmini; loving father of Geethanjali and Aravinthan; second son of the late Mr. & Mrs. K. Kanagasabai; brother of the late Mrs. Sarojini Visvendran, Chandramohan, Surendramohan; son-in-law of the late Mr. V. Balasubramaniam, retired Director of Irrigation, Sri Lanka and Mrs. Balasubramaniam; brother-in-law of Sugumaran, Mahendran, Sakunthala, Subathra and Ravindran passed away after a brief illness on 1st April 1992. Funeral took place in Zambia on 5.4.92. All his relatives and friends are mourning his untimely demise and pray for his soul to rest in peace – T. Visvendran, 27 Cromwell Road, Stevenage, Herts., SG2 9HT, U.K. Tel: 0438 356533.*



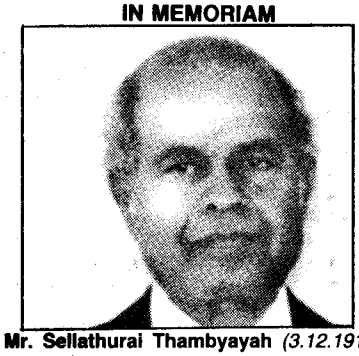
Mr. James Veerasingam Thuraisingam, *Retired clerk, Jaffna Municipal Council, Sri Lanka; beloved husband of Annamalar; father of Shamini (France), Tharshini (Jaffna) and Mohanraj (U.K.) passed away in Jaffna on 8.2.92 after a brief illness. Sadly missed and mourned by his loved ones. – 28 Sandhills, Wallington, Surrey SM6 8JE, U.K. Tel: 081-395 2046.*

Arumugam Tharmalingam *of Suthumalai, Manipay; beloved husband of Kanthymathy; father Tharmakulendran (Sri Lanka), Mrs. Sarojinidevi Kanaganayagam (USA), late Varunakulendran, Rajakulendran (Saudi Arabia), Kumarakulendran (U.K.) and Inthumathy (Sri Lanka); father-in-law of Radha, Kanaganayagam (USA); grand father of Dharshika, Thilakshan, Brindhan and Brianthan passed away peacefully on 4.4.92 in Suthumalai, Sri Lanka. Sadly missed and mourned by his loved ones, friends and relatives. – 10 Gambole Street, London SW17. Tel: 081-767 9812.*



Mrs. Sellamah Alagar *(82), beloved wife of the late K. Alagar (Malayan Pensioner), mother of Mrs. Nirmaladevi Kandasamy, Suseeladevi (both of Sri Lanka), Gangadharan (U.K.), Dr. Sivasundaram (Malaysia) and Rudran (Sri Lanka); mother-in-law of S. Kandasamy (Retired Elections Officer, Sri Lanka), Mrs. Mavis Gangadharan, Mrs. Pathmavathy Sivasundaram and Mrs. Pathmavathy Rudran; grandmother of Mrs. Renuka Aravindan (U.K.), Dr. Hariharan (USA), Mrs. Vasumathy Srikanthan (U.K.), Anushya (Sri Lanka), Diane Pradeepa, Ryan Dinesh (both of U.K.), Harini and Harshyan (both of Sri Lanka); great grandmother of Shylesh Kumaran and sister of S. Subramaniam (Malaysia) passed away in Chunnakam, Sri Lanka on 27.3.92. Sadly missed and mourned by her loved ones, relatives and friends – 235 Burges Road, London E6. Tel: 081-470 5477.*

IN MEMORIAM



Mr. Sellathurai Thambyayah *(3.12.1915 – 19.4.91)*

A year has soon past
Yet the bitter sorrow lasts,
You did leave us so suddenly
To join your beloved heavenly,
We do very much miss you,
In sweet remembrance
Shall always think of you,
May you attain eternal peace.

Fondly remembered by your children, grandchildren and in-law(s) – 18 Cranborne Chase, Clifford Park, Coventry CV2 2JH, U.K.

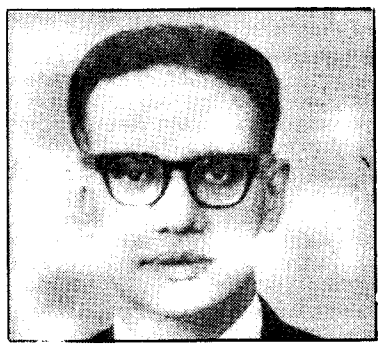
Mr. Kandiah Subramaniam, *Retired Head Master, School View, Karanavai North, Karveddy, Sri Lanka.*

Born: 1.4.1914 Died: 8.4.1990.

Fondly remembered by his students; children Rajeswaran of Croydon, Prof. (Mrs.) R. Mageswaran of Jaffna University, Rajanayagam & Rajagobalan of Kenley; son-in-law Prof. S. Mageswaran; daughters-in-law Suganthi & Ester and grandchildren Suthagar & Saratha. – 40 Barnfield Avenue, Shirley, Croydon, Surrey CR0 8SE, U.K. Tel: 081 654 5792.

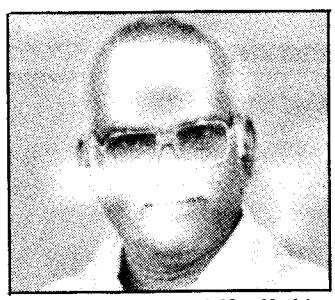
In loving memory of **Mr. Sabalingam Uthayalingam,** *son of the late Mr. E. Sabalingam, formerly Principal of Jaffna Central & Jaffna Hindu Colleges and the late Mrs. Malarjothi Sabalingam; son-in-law of Mr. & Mrs. Navaratnam of Kondavil, Sri Lanka on the first anniversary of his passing away on 4.4.91.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his beloved wife Premaruba; children Sarangan and Saravanan; brothers Dr. Jothilingam, Jeyalingam and Abayalingam (all of UK); sisters Mrs. Rajini Poovendraraj (Malaysia), Mrs. Ranji Anantha Paskaran (U.K.), Mrs. Shanthi Mahendran (Bharain) and Mrs. Kalaichelvi Navendran (U.K.) – 25 Elm Drive, North Harrow, Middx., HA 7BS, U.K. Tel: 081 427 4153.



In ever loving memory of **Mr. Velupillai Nadarajah,** *formerly Director, Ceylon School of Social Work, son of the late Mr. & Mrs. Velupillai of Chetty Street, Nallur, Sri Lanka; son-in-law of the late Mr. K. Muthulingam and Mrs. Muthulingam of Tellipallai, Sri Lanka on the first anniversary of his passing away on 4.4.91.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his beloved wife Muthu Ambikai; daughter Dr. Sakunthala; son Dr. Ravindran; son-in-law Dr. Suresh Thayalan; daughter-in-law Meera; grandchildren Arjun, Nisha and Sathya. – 43 Hollymead Close, Turner Road, Colchester, Esex CO4 5JU, U.K. Tel: 0206 852938.



In everloving memory of **Mr. Kathiravelu Paramanathan,** *Businessman, Ward No. 1, Pungudutivu, Sri Lanka; on the first anniversary of his passing away on 25.4.91. Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his beloved wife Neelambal; children Chandrakumar (6 Kumars, U.K.), Sooriyakumar (Canada), Vasuki (U.K.), Indrakumar, Jeyakumar, Nandakumar, Srikumar and Premini (all of Canada); son-in-law Balasubramaniam (U.K.); daughters-in-law Vasanthakala (U.K.), Louisa and Komathi (both of Canada); grandchildren Ryan, Ratheepan, Ravin, Jinesh, Rajeevan and Dilan – 285 High Street North, Manor Park, London E12 6SL, U.K. Tel: 081 471 5742 & 416 259 3163 (Canada).*

In ever loving memory of **Mrs. Nagammah Nagaratnam** *(82) wife of the late Mr. Naganather Nagaratnam of Karampan West, Kayts, Sri Lanka; an embodiment of hard work, love and laughter, fun and joy; fondly remembered on the first anniversary of her passing away on 26.4.1991.*

She was the mother of the late Maheswary, Pathmanathan, Vamadevan, Ramachandran, Chandrakanthy, Puvaneswary (Sri Lanka), Varathalachumy (Dubai), Thiagarajah, Pushpakanthy (USA), Vijayanathan (Canada), and Shanmuganathan (U.K.); mother-in-law of A. Sunthararajah, Mrs. Nageswary Pathmanathan, Mrs. Thabonithy Vamadevan, Mrs. Gowri Ramachandran, the late R. Arumugam (Sri Lanka), T. Satkunanathan (Dubai), Mrs. Jayanthy Thiagarajah, C. Kanaga Lincoln (USA), M. Shanmuganathan, Mrs. Ratnaleela Vijayanathan (Canada) and Mrs. Varatha Shanmuganathan (U.K.); grandmother of Puhalendran, Subaheesan, Sunithakala, Niranjala, Gnanagowri, Janarthanan, Nishanthan, Kalpana, Swarna, Sutharshan (Sri Lanka), Sasikala, Vaaheesan, Swarnakala, Praveena, Vinoji (Canada), Sutharshini, Ambalanath, Priyatharshini, Gopika, Sanjayan, Gokulan, Gowthami, Ushani, Morgan (USA), Tharmendra, Suseendra (Dubai), Tharmini and Rupatharshini (U.K.) – 9 Wolseley Road, Wealdstone, Middx., HA3 5RZ, U.K. Tel: 081 427 1549.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

May 2 *Amavasai.*

May 6 *Chathurthi.*

May 9 *5.50pm South London Tamil School, Croydon presents* **Cultural Evening** *at South Norwood Centre, Sandown Road, London SE25 4XE. Tel: 081-764 7912/665 6764/654 1381.*

May 16 *Full Moon Day & Vaikasi Visakam.*

May 23 *7.00pm* **Bharatanatyam** *by* ***Madhuvanti*** *at Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ. Tel: 071-381 3086/4608.*

May 25 *10.00am Sri Lankan O.B.A.'s Festival of Cricket, Maori Sports Grounds, Old Malden Lane/Church Road, Worcester Park Surrey. Tel: 081-567 2352/391 0351/853 3207.*

May 31 *Amavasai.*

Natya Gana Brindham

The news of a programme of Indian classical dance set to pannisai, and in London, must have raised a few eyebrows! This had never been done before. Thayalasunthari Paranthaman and Vijayambigai Indrakumar both members of staff took on this formidable challenge on behalf of the West London Tamil School. The result was **Natya gana brindham** *a combination of exhilarating music, exquisite dance and poetry rich in content reminding us of Kumarakuruparar's words 'pannum, parathamum, theenjchot panuvalum. . .', on the night of the 14th of March in the Acton Town Hall.*

'Thiruvasagam enum thane' is a legendary description that aptly depicts the substance and sweetness of the works of Saint Maniccavasagar. Pannisai made music an act of worship, a tradition cherished by Tamils over centuries. Thirupalli elluchi is a collection of ten hymns that are sung at dawn to awaken Lord Siva. Religious ideas have an unerring appeal when clothed in homely imagery. The yearning of the soul, to free itself from the darkness of worldly pleasures that surrounds it and prevents it from uniting with the almighty is a theme that runs through this collection of verses.

How well could these verses be used for abhinaya? Is there a 'story line'? How well would they string together giving a sense of cohesion and the feel of a dance drama? The unique combination of Mrs. Paranthaman and Mrs. Indrakumar rose to the challenge. Each verse was treated as a padam. Mrs. Paranthaman provided a firm vocal foundation – the repetition of lines, the variation of tonal emphasis, all helping to bring out the 'picture content' of thiruvasagam. This was fully exploited by the choreographer to provide a visual feast.

Vijayambigai is well known for her skill in bringing innovation without forsaking tradition. She has pioneered attempts at choreography that have brought a refreshing change to the traditional repertoire of Indian classical dance programmes. Two years ago she choreographed Tchaikovsky's 'The Sleeping Beauty' in London, having done this along with 'Swan Lake' some years ago for which she was honoured by the Soviet Government in the Bolshoi theatre.

A group of nine experienced guest artistes were assisted by nearly a dozen students from the WLTS. The guest artistes were highly talented ladies, trained in their chosen styles and schools and had attained either diplomas or comparable qualifications from institutions such as the University of Jaffna. They appeared one after another and as each padam was completed the audience muttered that that must be the best, only to be surprised by the next one and it became an impossible task to select a supreme one.

Vijayambigai not only drew the best from each artiste but also enhanced the elegance of Bharatham with elements from Kuchipudi and Kathak. She had also cleverly incorporated into the choreography aspects from other chapters of Thiruvasagam such as ammanai, a dance game and poovalli, again a dance of maidens but this time collecting water lilies.

Maniccavasagar (played by a senior student Vathani Varatharajan) returns to the stage in between some of the verses and this lends cohesion to the entire programme. This manoeuvre helps the audience to keep in touch with a story-line. In the final scene Lord Siva awakens and delighted with the efforts of his devotees performs the Thandavam and in this scene all the artistes appear together for the grand finale, the range and complexity of which will stay in our minds for a very long time to come.

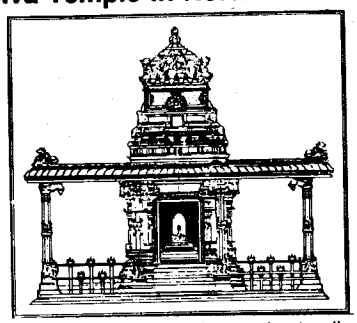
In a programme of this scale drawing together a wide and varied group of artistes there is bound to be the odd imperfection with respect to coordination on stage. This should in no way mar the success of the occasion. It will be a great pity if the production is simply allowed to lapse. Mrs. Paranthaman and Mrs. Indrakumar, the guest artistes, the children and the WLTS deserve our congratulations and our support to stage the performance in other parts of the country or continent. The Tamil community owes them a debt of gratitude.

Kandiah Sivakumar.

Thiagaraja Utsavam

A galaxy of Musicians participated at the 'Thiagaraja Utsavam' celebrations organised by the West London Tamil School on 1.2.92. this programme was co-ordinated by Mrs. Ambika Thamotheram, the Arts Governor of the School.

Siva Temple in North America



At a time when East-West understanding is becoming closer, when travel and fast communications have made the world a global village, Saivite Hindus everywhere should be heartened by the fact that a Siva-Nataraja Temple in Kapaa, Hawaii, USA is attracting devotees from all over the world.

The spiritual Head of the Hawaii Aadheenam is Sivaya Subra Muniya Swami, a disciple of Jaffna Colombutharai Yogar Swami, and is aided by a dedicated band of American monks and sadhus over the last fifteen years. A brand new Iraivan Temple is under construction and is unique in that the entire temple is to be built with **white granite** *and is taking shape in India in Bangalore prior to being shipped to Hawaii. A rare and large crystal Siva-Lingam will be the Santum Sanctorum at this temple. Devotees desirous of making donations to this worthy cause should send it to: The San Marga Project, P.O. Box 1030, Kapaa, Hawaii 96746, USA. Tel: (808) 822 0080. Fax: (808) 822 4351.*

Fourth Annual Sri Lankan Festival of Cricket

The Fourth Annual Sri Lankan Festival of Cricket is to be held at the Maori Grounds, Worcester Park on Bank Holiday Monday May 25, 1992.

It has become the premier annual event for Sri Lankans in UK and provides an opportunity to enjoy a carnival atmosphere in addition to the friendly cricketing rivalry between the Old Boys Associations. This Festival brings together over 5000 people of all walks of life and raises funds for the Old Schools in Sri Lanka as well as the Childrens Cancer Research Institute in Sri Lanka.

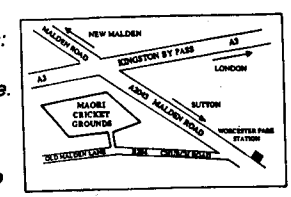
The participants this year will be the same as last year. They are: Trinity, Zahira, St. Anthonys Kandy, Ananda, Nalanda, Jaffna Central, Royal, St. Thomas, St. Josephs, St. Johns, Mahinda and St. Peters. The past winners are 1989: Ananda; 1990: Jaffna Central; 1991: Jaffna Central.

The organisers are confident that the event will provide a great day's entertainment for the family and are making all efforts to improve on the levels of prior years. In addition to the cricket there will be a raffle, a steel band and also a disco after the cricket. There will be trade stalls and also caterers for lunch and dinner. It is their aim to increase the number of participating OBAs for latter years and a formula is to be made available at this event.

Entrance fees: Adults £2; Children: Free.

Parking all day: £3.

Souvenir: 50p



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PROFESSOR REZVI SHERIFF MD FRCP
PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE
CONSULTANT PHYSICIAN & NEPHROLOGIST

January 28, 1992

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Mr. Kumar Pancharatnam Nimal, a 21-year-old Engineering Faculty first year undergraduate at the University of Peradeniya was admitted under my care at Nawaloka Private Hospital in advanced kidney failure. He has a long history of Nephrotic Syndrome following glomerulonephritis. From a detailed history and physical examination I believe he has acute chronic kidney failure.

He has been recommended a course of regular Haemodialysis therapy which will be followed by kidney biopsy and it is hoped that we could get back sufficient kidney function with medical treatment and put off the need for urgent kidney transplantation.

The above therapy may cost the patient approximately Rs.200,000/-.

PROFESSOR REZVI SHERIFF MD FRCP

The above refers to the son of Mr. V.K. Pancharatnam, Retired Postmaster, Second Cross Street, Point Pedro, Sri Lanka & also a former employee of Northrop Aircraft Services, California in one of it's bases in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Mr. Pancharatnam is unemployed and has spent his savings of Rs.250,000 on the treatment of his son. He is in dire circumstances. Any voluntary contribution to help this Engineering Student, may be drawn in his name, K.P. Nimal, A/C No.34-01-45275, Bank of Ceylon, Kollupitiya, Colombo 3 and posted to K.P. Nimal, 67 Galpotha Street, Kotahena, Colombo 13, Sri Lanka by Registered Post. Postal orders must be crossed. Prayers of our well-wishers towards Nimal's early recovery, will be very much appreciated. Thank you for your kindness.

Parents.

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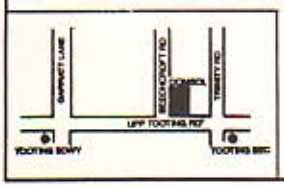

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* AN EXCLUSIVE FREE TRANSPORT SERVICE TO ALL OUR AIRLANKA PASSENGERS FROM THE AIRPORT TO COLOMBO MUNICIPAL LIMITS